

William A. Ward's

Relations between Egypt and the East Mediterranean and Mesopotamia in Antiquity

William Ayres Ward, the American Egyptologist, serialized these studies in *Orientalia* and *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* between the years 1961 and 1964.

[Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C.](#), from *Orientalia*, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1961), pp. 22-45.

[Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C. \(Concluded\)](#), *ibid.* pp. 129-155.

[Egypt and the East Mediterranean from Predynastic Times to the End of the Old Kingdom](#), from *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (May, 1963), pp. 1-57.

[Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom](#), from *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Apr., 1964), pp. 1-45.

[Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom \(Concluded\)](#), from *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Jul., 1964), pp. 121-135.

Compiled by Robert Bedrosian, 2019

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes

Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C.

Author(s): W. A. Ward

Source: *Orientalia*, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1961), pp. 22-45

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43073577>

Accessed: 05-05-2019 15:48 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/43073577?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Orientalia*

**Egypt and the East Mediterranean
in the Early Second Millennium B. C.**

W. A. WARD – Beirut

During the Middle Kingdom, Egypt embarked on a far-reaching foreign policy which brought the Nile Valley into direct or indirect contact with every important civilization in the East Mediterranean area. This foreign policy has long been the subject of general statements and technical studies which have produced several variant conclusions as to the nature of Egyptian contacts with those countries which lay to the north. For some time, I have felt that a restudy of the pertinent material would be of some value to historians interested in this problem.

The purpose of the present discussion is two-fold. First, it is apparent that a sifting of the evidence is necessary in order to determine just what is and is not valid as proof of Egyptian contacts with East Mediterranean countries during the Middle Kingdom. Second, some attempt must be made to arrive at tentative conclusions which satisfy the demands of the valid evidence. Unfortunately, the historian is hampered at the outset by the nature of the available material. Prior to the Egyptian Empire period, this material is primarily archeological; inscriptions are for the most part restricted to short texts on statuettes, scarabs and the like or infrequent allusions in historical texts. Consequently, no final picture can be gained and, after examining the available evidence, one is still left with the impression that there is more to be said on the subject.

Whatever the restrictions of the material presently known, it is at least possible to indicate some general trends in Middle Kingdom foreign policy toward the northern countries. This is especially true of the later Middle Kingdom interest in Syria-Palestine which is related to the influx of the Hurrians into North Syria, a connection which I do not believe has been fully appreciated heretofore. That the Egyptian rulers were aware of this menace goes without saying

and I believe they took specific measures to counteract the threat offered by the new Hurrian power. It is within this context that the Twelfth Dynasty royal monuments in North Syria and the Execration Texts should be interpreted. But to properly understand the historical and chronological complexities of the later Middle Kingdom relations in Asia, it is first necessary to reconstruct as nearly as possible the foreign relations of the earlier Middle Kingdom. Accordingly, I have begun the present survey with the Eleventh Dynasty.

Around the middle of the twenty-first century B.C., Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, a local prince of Thebes, succeeded in reuniting a dismembered Egypt under a single monarch. ⁽¹⁾ Once unification was achieved, Nebhepetre took the next logical step and made the initial Middle Kingdom thrust into adjacent lands, a move which set the pattern for the active foreign policy of later kings. While the Eleventh Dynasty was primarily interested in the territory south of Egypt, ⁽²⁾ strong Egyptian kings were always anxious to establish control over Sinai and we should expect such a move on the part of Nebhepetre.

Unfortunately, there are no Sinai inscriptions which can definitely be attributed to an Eleventh Dynasty ruler though there are other inscriptions which prove that Nebhepetre did revive Egyptian interest in the north, at least as far as Sinai. In his temple at Gebelein, Nebhepetre left a relief in which the king is portrayed smiting a Nubian, Libyan, Egyptian and Asiatic. ⁽³⁾ Further documentation of this northward push comes from his mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari. One relief in this temple shows an Asiatic bowing to the ground before the Egyptian king though the latter's figure is now destroyed. ⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes* (New York, 1947), pp. 30 ff.; Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens* (= *Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. 31) (Rome, 1949), pp. 78 ff.; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*. Vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1953), pp. 152-54.

⁽²⁾ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), pp. 54 ff.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*. 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906), I, sec. 423 H. Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 2, rightly insists that *s.t* refers to Asiatics rather than the island of Sehel.

⁽⁴⁾ *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*. Part VI (London, 1922), pl. 24; Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} dynastie*. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, Vol. 10 (Brussels, 1948), p. 36, no. 28b. The accompanying fragment of inscription is of no value to the present purpose.

Another fragment mentions 'mw, "Asiatics," in a badly broken context. ⁽¹⁾

A most important inscription dealing with Sinai is difficult to date though it most probably comes from the reign of Nebhepetre. This document is a stela of the Sea-captain Akhtoy from his tomb at Thebes ⁽²⁾ which records an expedition to Sinai as well as military action against the local inhabitants. ⁽³⁾ Though Carter, who excavated this tomb, believed it to be of the late Middle Kingdom, Gardiner has put forward several convincing arguments for an Eleventh Dynasty date and this has been followed by most scholars. ⁽⁴⁾ Since Nebhepetre is known to have made contact with Asiatics and the name Mentuhotep written in a cartouche appears among the fragmentary inscriptions of Akhtoy's tomb, I am inclined to consider Akhtoy an official of Nebhepetre and the Sinai expedition mentioned here as occurring in his reign. ⁽⁵⁾



Eleventh Dynasty connections elsewhere in the Mediterranean are quite obscure. There is every reason to believe that Egyptian seals and design scarabs found their way to the Aegean during the First Intermediate Period and some of these design scarabs may plausibly be dated to the Eleventh Dynasty. ⁽⁶⁾ Other finds have also been

⁽¹⁾ Clère and Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 37, no. 28, line x + 4.

⁽²⁾ Tomb. 65. Gardiner, *JEA* IV (1917), 35-36, pl. 9.

⁽³⁾ Line 7: *hsf.n. i n* (sic) *'mw hr hswt.sn*, "I punished the Asiatics in their countries." Since the rest of this inscription indicates Sinai as the area of operations, the *'mw* of this text must be the Bedouin living there.

⁽⁴⁾ Gardiner, *JEA* IV (1917), 38 and n. 1 (quoting Newberry's agreement); Winlock, *Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 35; Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), p. 128. If the Eleventh Dynasty date is correct, certain pottery "believed to be" from this tomb must be intrusive; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 31, pl. 7b. The shallow bowl with white painted dots has exact analogies in the Second Intermediate Period graves at Abydos; Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II* (London, 1914), p. 66, pl. XIII, 1-2.

⁽⁵⁾ The name   *htii*, is common enough in the Eleventh Dynasty though I know of no other monument of the Sea-captain by this name. The offering formulae of this stela are used throughout the Middle Kingdom so it cannot be dated more exactly by inscriptional details.

⁽⁶⁾ Several seals and impressions have excellent Egyptian parallels though some have such common geometric designs that caution should

considered Egyptian imports during the First Intermediate Period. A stone seal with a light blue glaze found at Tarsus in an EB II-III context is thought to be Egyptian though this seal may be of Anatolian rather than Egyptian origin; both design and technique are paralleled at Alishar. ⁽¹⁾ Several Egyptian adzes were found at Byblos, the closest parallels to which date to the First Intermediate Period or the Eleventh Dynasty. ⁽²⁾ Egyptian influence at Byblos at this time is now given added support by a newly published Egyptian inscription naming a local prince and an Anatolian inhabitant of that city. The obelisk on which this inscription is carved was found in a deposit dating not later than the twenty-first century B.C. and may well be an example of Egyptian influence during the Herakleopolitan Period (Ninth and Tenth Dynasties). ⁽³⁾

The available material is much too scarce to allow positive conclusions but it may be that the Old Kingdom trade with Byblos was not as completely broken off during the First Intermediate Period as heretofore presumed. There was no direct trade route between Egypt and the Aegean; the two areas were connected by coastal shipping routes meeting at Byblos and other Syrian ports. One

be used in assigning them an Egyptian origin. Cf. Frodin and Persson, *Asine, Results of the Swedish Excavations, 1922-23* (Stockholm, 1938), p. 217, no. 15, fig. 160, 1-2 (EH III context); Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, 1930), nos. 7, 48; Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mes-sara. An Account of Some Early Cemeteries of Southern Crete*. Transl. by J. P. Droop (London, 1924), p. 83, no. 820. The Cretan examples are all from Early Minoan contexts.

Design scarabs: Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, nos. 6, 17, 49, 55. The first two have designs which were cut after the scarabs reached Crete though it is also possible that they are Cretan imitations.

⁽¹⁾ Goldman, in Enrich (ed.), *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology* (Chicago, 1954), p. 73, fig. 1c. However, a similar design was found on a seal from Alishar and a frit vessel with a greenish-blue glaze also comes from this site; Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32* (Chicago, 1937), fig. 186, no. c1839, fig. 197, no. e722.

⁽²⁾ Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte. Quatres campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil, 1921-1922-1923-1924* (Paris, 1928-29), nos. 338-39; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*. Vol. 1 (Paris, 1939), no. 3550. Montet mentions some unpublished parallels from Assiut in the Cairo Museum though the closest parallels come from the First Intermediate Period and the Eleventh Dynasty, judging by published material.

⁽³⁾ Albright, *BASOR* 155 (1959), 31 ff.

route connected Egypt with Syria, the other ran along the southern coast of Anatolia and connected Syria with the Aegean. ⁽¹⁾ The only way, then, that Egyptian objects could reach the Aegean was via the Syrian trading ports. If the material mentioned above is definitely of the First Intermediate Period, we must assume that at least a minimum trade with Syria was maintained by local rulers of the First Intermediate Period. If this is true, the Eleventh Dynasty could very well have continued this trade. All this, however, must remain in the realm of speculation until more positive evidence is known. ⁽²⁾ One other piece of evidence may bear this out though I would hesitate to say it is above suspicion. Evans has suggested that an anthropomorphic vessel found in an Eleventh Dynasty deposit at Rifeh belongs to a Cretan type. ⁽³⁾ The Cretan examples are of EM III date which is contemporary to the Eleventh Dynasty. ⁽⁴⁾ Yet, while the Egyptian vessel is similar to the Cretan type, it is possible that there is no connection. Even discounting the Tarsus seal and the Rifeh anthropomorphic vessel, there still remain design scarabs, the Byblos adzes and the recently published obelisk from Byblos to show that Egypt maintained some kind of connection with Syria during the First Intermediate Period which was doubtless continued during the Eleventh Dynasty.

We may conclude, then, that the Eleventh Dynasty reached Sinai and was already engaged in hostilities against the local tribes.

⁽¹⁾ The coastal route between Syria and the Aegean is described by Blegen in Weinberg (ed), *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to Hettie Goldman* (Locust Valley, 1956), pp. 32-35. The evidence against a direct Egypto-Aegean overseas route is given by Vercoutter. *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes* (Paris, 1954), pp. 13 ff.

⁽²⁾ The famous lament of Ipu-wer that Egyptian trade with Byblos had ceased may be "editorializing" rather than literal fact. The pessimistic sage was probably bewailing the extreme diminishing of foreign trade instead of its total dearth.

⁽³⁾ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*. 4 vols. (London, 1921-35), II, p. 258, figs. 152-53.

⁽⁴⁾ Weinberg, in *Relative Chronologies*, p. 90. The seal from EH III Asine (see p. 24 note 6) is here considered one proof of an Eleventh Dynasty connection. This seal shows a swastika design which is too common for positive connections; however, an exact duplicate is in Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), pl. III, 152.

It is extremely doubtful that any land operations were undertaken in Palestine at this time though there is enough evidence to indicate an Eleventh Dynasty tie with Byblos. I suspect that the Old Kingdom connection with Byblos was never broken at all but was carried on by local rulers of the First Intermediate Period and resumed by the state when Egypt was again reunited.

After a short period of internal revolt at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the advent of the Twelfth Dynasty saw an Egypt united into a feudal state in which the leading nobles maintained a great deal of local authority, held in check only by a line of strong-willed rulers on the throne. ⁽¹⁾ Under these kings, Egyptian foreign relations took on a magnitude which surpassed all previous periods. In the south, the Twelfth Dynasty established Egyptian dominance as far south as Kerma. ⁽²⁾ But the northern connections now take on new significance and Egypt during this period came into commercial contact with the entire eastern Mediterranean.

According to the available evidence, Cyprus now enters the field of Egyptian foreign relations for the first time. Egyptian beads and amulets of Middle Kingdom date have been discovered in Middle Cypriote II contexts. ⁽³⁾ This material would have reached Cyprus through Byblos or some other Syrian port since there is no proof of any direct trade with Egypt at this time. ⁽⁴⁾ No Cypriote material has been discovered in Egypt in deposits dating prior to the Second Intermediate Period; Cypriote White Painted V ware has been found at three Second Intermediate Period sites. ⁽⁵⁾

Twelfth Dynasty relations with Crete are represented primarily by the statue of a private individual and several design scarabs. The statuette is of some interest since it is inscribed with names (Usir and his mother, Sat-hathor) and two phrases which I believe to be


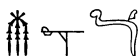

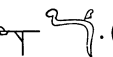
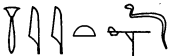
⁽¹⁾ This feudal state was changed into an absolute monarchy under Sesostri III, an event explored more fully below.

⁽²⁾ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 54-116.



⁽³⁾ Gjersted, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala, 1926), p. 334. No photographs are given for comparative purposes.

⁽⁴⁾ The foreign relations of Cyprus lay primarily in Anatolia and Syria; Goldman, in *Relative Chronologies*, p. 72.

⁽⁵⁾ Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891), p. 10, pl. I, 18; Petrie, *Deshaskeh* (London, 1898), pl. XXXIII, 25; Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II*, pp. 61, 69, pl. XXIX. For the Second Intermediate Period date, cf. Kantor, in *Relative Chronologies*, pp. 12-13.

Usir's titles. ⁽¹⁾ The first title is , *wḏpw nb(ỉ)*, ⁽²⁾ for which I can quote no exact parallels and which seems to be an abbreviated spelling; abbreviations of Egyptian titles are quite common on the objects found outside Egypt and may sometimes be errors made by local scribes writing an unfamiliar language. Inscriptions on scarabs and other small objects are subject to much abbreviation even on objects made in Egypt. The present title could indicate some minor treasury official or, what is more likely, a grade in the goldsmith's guild. The other title, , *ms wḏ.t*, is completely obscure though it is probably paralleled in the Old Kingdom by  ⁽³⁾ and in the Eighteenth Dynasty by . ⁽⁴⁾ Steindorff has published a scarab bearing the name *Wsr* and the title  ..., suggesting that this scarab and the Knossos statuette may belong to the same Usir. ⁽⁵⁾ That both objects belong to the same person is highly probable, especially since the title is so rare. The impossibility of defining Usir's titles more closely leaves open the question of the

⁽¹⁾ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 288, fig. 220; Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, no. 29. That this is a Middle Kingdom statuette is certain though there is some disagreement as to the specific date. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), II, p. 96, dated the statuette to the reign of Amenemhat I; Sidney Smith, *AJA* XLIX (1945), 4, dates it to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty; Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes*, p. 76, suggests the Thirteenth Dynasty. The inscription carved on this statuette definitely does not contain the fantastic personal name "Ab-nub-mes-wazit-usir" as heretofore maintained by some scholars; cf. Pendlebury, in Mylonas (ed), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, Vol. 1 (St. Louis, 1951), p. 189.

⁽²⁾ With  for , a variant common in the Middle Kingdom.

⁽³⁾ Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1908), pl. XXV.

⁽⁴⁾ Winlock, *JEA* X (1924), 241. Cf. also Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. *Äg. Forsch.* no. 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), p. 129, where this sign is read *tn* (*Wörterbuch* V, 372). However, the expanded writing of this title on a scarab of Usir (see foll. note) indicates that perhaps in all these examples, the reading is *wḏ.t* and not *tn*.

⁽⁵⁾ *ASAE* XXXVI (1936), 173-74. He suggests an Eighteenth Dynasty date for these objects! Both, however, may safely be attributed to the Middle Kingdom.

reason for his presence on Crete. These titles do not seem to indicate any high office in the Egyptian government so we cannot conclude that Usir was an Egyptian "ambassador" to the Cretan court. We may more properly suppose that he was a goldsmith who had left his native land to seek his fortunes abroad and that he was in Knossos in the capacity of a private individual. ⁽¹⁾

Other than the statuette of Usir, the only positive Middle Kingdom objects found on Crete are some design scarabs. ⁽²⁾ Other connections have been suggested though all must be used with caution. Hall proposed a relation between a type of pillar construction found at Knossos and in the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahari — the lowest drum of the pillar was cut in one piece with the paving slab on which it stood. But this type of construction seems common enough in the Near East and should not be considered an example of borrowing or influence. ⁽³⁾ Similarly, a group of copper objects from the Messara have been considered Egyptian but these are ordinary objects such as needles and daggers and are useless as

⁽¹⁾ Note the private objects of individuals from Palestine and Syria discussed in the following pages which must also be so considered. While there is no evidence of Usir's being an official of the Cretan court, this suggestion has its merits. Other Egyptians, as I will explain below, served foreign rulers in specialized capacities.

⁽²⁾ Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, nos. 1-3, 5, 14, 18, 54, 56. Most of these have excellent parallels in Egypt though nos. 3 and 14 probably show designs cut after the scarabs reached Crete.

⁽³⁾ This pillar construction is found also at Byblos and Zendjerli; Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, fig. 2, Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendscherli*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1893-1943), IV, fig. 260. Such connections between architectural features are frequently proposed and it is well to regard them with suspicion until definitely proven. Albright has suggested a connection between the ceiling construction of a tomb at Taanach and similar work in the Saqqara tomb of Djoser; Sellin, *Tell Ta'anak* (Vienna, 1904), figs. 35-36; Albright, *BASOR* 94 (1944), p. 15, n. 10; *Archeology of Palestine* (Harmondsworth-Middlesex, 1949), p. 76; *Relative Chronologies*, p. 31. A similar analogy has been drawn between the large monoliths built into the wall of a *tholos* at Menidi (Attica) and those over the upper chamber of the Cheops pyramid; Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique*. Part I (Stockholm, 1924), pp. 160-61. It is highly probable that such architectural features are no indication of cultural borrowing at all but represent instead basic features of architectural design that we may expect to find in unrelated cultures. More convincing is Mylonas' comparison of the temple-tomb at Knossos with simple Egyptian temple plans of the Empire Period; *Robinson Studies*, I, pp. 101-2, fig. 6.

proofs of foreign relations.⁽¹⁾ While it is often risky to use art motives as proof of foreign relations, a bound lily design and a butterfly design appearing frequently in Cretan art may possibly be considered Egyptian influence.⁽²⁾

The statuette of Usir, some design scarabs and possibly the two art motives are thus the only Middle Kingdom objects or influences found in the Aegean.⁽³⁾ Cretan finds in Egypt, however, are more

(¹) Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Messara*, p. 129. This identification was probably influenced by the then current opinion that the art of working copper was first introduced into Crete from Egypt; cf. Hall, *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (New York, 1928), pp. 31 ff. At one time it was customary to see an Egyptian origin for several scientific advances though I am inclined to discount all such suggestions. The art of glazing has been considered an import from Egypt; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and *JEA* I (1914), 117; Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Some have suggested that the art of cutting stone vessels was borrowed from Egypt; Seager, *Explorations in the Islands of Mochlos* (Boston, 1912), pp. 102-03; Pendlebury, *The Archeology of Crete* (London, 1939), p. 69. Likewise, an Egyptian influence has been proposed for certain signs in the Minoan and Mycenaean scripts; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 141; Ventriss and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 35 (quoting Sundwall). Now working copper, glazing and stone-cutting are universal discoveries and one would need more proof, than is presently available to assume an Egyptian origin for such advances in culture. And in any hieroglyphic repertoire, where symbols are drawn from items of everyday life, there are bound to be some apparent similarities. Chadwick, *Antiquity XXXIII* (1959), 269, says: "Writing in Crete appears to be an independent development, certainly not derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphs, although Egypt may have provided a model for the growth of the indigenous system." This statement parallels that commonly used for the relation between Sumerian and Egyptian, that the idea of writing was brought from Sumer but Egypt developed its own system independently; a brief summary of this position in Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Bloomington, 1951), pp. 105-108.

(²) Hall, *JEA* I (1914), 116; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 287; Keimer, *ASAE XXXIV* (1934), 119 ff.

(³) A statue and statue head supposedly found in Athens are listed in Lusingh-Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener verzameling van Egyptische, Grieksche, Romeinsche en andere oudheid* (1909), pp. 55-56, pl. II. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, VII, p. 401 list the head as Old Kingdom; Lusingh-Scheurleer says "later than Old Kingdom." The statue is of Middle Kingdom date; cf. *ZAS* XL (1904), 145. Both pieces are undoubtedly later imports. Also later imports are several stelae found on the Island of Malta which have been dated to the Middle King-

numerous. Middle Minoan II pottery has been found in Middle Kingdom deposits at Harageh, Kahun and Abydos though the Kahun find may date to the Second Intermediate Period. ⁽¹⁾ Some jewelry from the tomb of a daughter of Amenemhat II has been considered of Cretan origin. ⁽²⁾ Finally, in the Tôd treasure of Amenemhat II, Cretan vessels of MM IIa date were found. ⁽³⁾

So much for the archeological evidence. On the linguistic side, there are two geographic terms which have long been used to substantiate Egyptian connections with the Aegean world. The first is *Hꜥw-nb.wt*, "Haunebu," traditionally understood to indicate the islands of the Aegean, ⁽⁴⁾ and discussed here only for the sake of completeness since it is now apparent that this term cannot be so used in Middle Kingdom times. Vercoutter has challenged the traditional rendering of this term and has offered a new theory which is far more plausible. ⁽⁵⁾ Briefly, Vercoutter suggests that in Pre- and Protodynastic times, the Haunebu were the inhabitants of the marshes and islands in the Egyptian Delta. In the Middle Kingdom, the term referred to the Phoenician coast, during the Empire it indicated northern coastal peoples in general and in the Ptolemaic Period it was used to designate Greeks throughout the Aegean.

dom. In reality, only one (Br. Mus. no. 233) is of this date, the others are Empire or later; Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1928, pp. 45 ff., and *JEA* XXXV (1949), 192, n. 1; *Hieroglyphic Texts ... in the British Museum*, IV, p. 7, pl. XIV, and VII, p. 6, pl. X.

⁽¹⁾ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 212; Pendlebury, *Archeology of Crete*, p. 144; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. I, 12-13; *LAAA* V (1912-13), pls. XIII-XIV; Kantor, in *Relative Chronologies*, pp. 11-12.

⁽²⁾ Bossart, *Alt-kreta, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe im ägäischen Kulturkreise* (Berlin, 1921), p. 35; Lucas, *ASAE* XXXVI (1936), 197; Newberry, *JEA* XXIV (1938), 126; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 108 ff.; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-95*. Vol. 2 (Vienna, 1903), pl. XII.

⁽³⁾ Kantor, in *Relative Chronologies*, p. 11.

⁽⁴⁾ A general defense of this rendering in Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 vols. (Oxford, 1947), II, pp. 206* ff. Gardiner is more cautious in his *Egyptian Grammar*. 2d ed. (Oxford, 1950), Index, p. 573, under *nbt*, and has given up the translation "Mediterranean Islanders" in favor of the less definitive "Inhabitants of distant indeterminate foreign lands."

⁽⁵⁾ *BIFAO* XLVI (1946), 125 ff., XLVIII (1948), 107 ff.: *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Cairo, 1956), pp. 15-32. This latter work is indispensable for a study of Egyptian and Aegean relations.

Now Vercoutter's conclusions satisfactorily answer the demands of the evidence and I would only question them on the basis of one factor which, at first sight, is difficult to incorporate into this new theory. This is the complete omission of the Haunebu from the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts (discussed more fully, below). These texts list those places and rulers considered to be potential enemies of the Egyptian state at the close of the Middle Kingdom. The Haunebu were always considered one of the traditional enemies of Egypt, the "Nine Bows," which are represented pictorially as early as the Protodynastic Period ⁽¹⁾ though they are apparently not named until the Eighteenth Dynasty. ⁽²⁾ We may justifiably assume that the Nine Bows were the same throughout Egyptian history and that this traditional list of enemies must have originated in prehistoric times. On the basis of this factor alone the Haunebu cannot be located in the Aegean in the earlier period since we cannot conclude by any stretch of the imagination that the Aegean islands were known to the Egyptians in prehistoric times.

However, the situation could have been different in the Middle Kingdom though the few Middle Kingdom references to the Haunebu are unfortunately void of any value as far as fixing the geographical location of this term. Henenu, an official of the Eleventh Dynasty, mentions them in his Wadi Hamammat inscription. ⁽³⁾ The Theban tomb of Akhtoy, probably of the Eleventh Dynasty, has one scene showing a feast in honor of Hathor of whom it is said: *ph.n brw.t hꜥw-nb.wt*, "Thy might (reputation?) has reached the Haunebu." ⁽⁴⁾ An official of Sesostri I claims that he can speak and write the language of the Haunebu. ⁽⁵⁾ Finally, an Eighteenth Dynasty copy of a Twelfth Dynasty text mentions the Haunebu in connection with the " (Islands in the Midst?) of the (Great?) Green," though the context is too badly damaged to be of value to the present purpose. ⁽⁶⁾

⁽¹⁾ Quibbell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. XXVI c, 5. Here, the Nine Bows are portrayed hanging from Egyptian military standards.

⁽²⁾ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 169, n. 2; *Private Tombs at Thebes*. Vol. 1, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford, 1957), p. 38 n. 1.

⁽³⁾ Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hamammat* (Cairo, 1912), pl. XXXI, no. 114.

⁽⁴⁾ Gardiner, *JEA* IV (1918), 32.

⁽⁵⁾ Drioton and Vandier, *Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen*, Vol. 2, *L'Égypte*. 3d ed. rev. (Paris, 1952), pp. 258-59.

⁽⁶⁾ Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 27-28. The term "Islands in the Midst of the Great Green,"

We are still left, then, with no final conclusion. Middle Kingdom Egypt was in indirect contact with the Aegean as shown by the archeological evidence noted above. It is quite possible that the term was actually applied to the Aegean islands though the infrequent references in Egyptian texts of this period are of no use whatsoever in fixing the location of the Haunebu even in general terms. Assuming Vercoutter to be correct in his suggestion that Haunebu indicated the Phoenician coast during the Middle Kingdom, it seems logical that the term should appear in a catalogue of Asiatic enemies compiled at that time, especially since the Haunebu were always considered to be one of the traditional enemies of Egypt. On the other hand, this term appears to indicate no particular people but rather inhabitants of specific topographical surroundings, i. e., the coastal marshes and islands anywhere in the vicinity of large bodies of water. It is possible that they represented no organized or immediated threat to Egypt at the time the Execration Texts were compiled (and these texts were written to meet a specific situation) and we should therefore not expect them to be cursed by name in these documents. They may, after all, be included in such general curses as "all those who might think of rebelling," etc. Should a definite choice be thought necessary, Vercoutter's suggestion carries with it more convincing proof than the traditional rendering. For the present, it seems best to leave the question open though, in spite of my reservations regarding the omission of the Hanuebu from the Execration Texts, I see no other reason to reject Vercoutter's new proposals.

Another geographical term, however, allows more definitive conclusions. Egyptian relations with the Aegean are also bound to the interpretation of the Egyptian term *kftlw*, "Keftiu," usually considered to be Crete. Wainwright, dealing with a considerable mass of archeological and linguistic material, has long championed a Cilician origin for the Keftians. ⁽¹⁾ Much has been written by competent

according to Vercoutter, "semble avoir été créée par les scribes de la première moitié de la XVIII^e dynastie. . .," *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, p. 398. In this case, the appearance of the term in the present text should be attributed to the Eighteenth Dynasty scribe who copied the earlier manuscript.

⁽¹⁾ *LAAA* VI (1913), 24-83; *JHS* LI (1931), 1-38; *JEA* XVII (1931), 26-43; *AJA* LVI (1952), 196-212; *Anat. Studies* IV (1954), 33-48; *Vet. Test.* VI (1956), 199-210, IX (1959), 73-84. Various other scholars have subscribed in whole or in part to this theory.

authorities in opposition to this theory and his archeological evidence at least has been proven inconclusive. ⁽¹⁾ The linguistic evidence he proposes, drawn almost exclusively from Classical sources, is equally inconclusive. For example, in discussing an Egyptian hieratic inscription entitled "To make names of Keftiu," ⁽²⁾ Wainwright offers several supposedly equivalent Anatolian and Hurrian names which, he concludes, prove that the Keftiu speech was native to Cilicia. Several of these equations are unacceptable on phonetic grounds. ⁽³⁾

Furthermore, much of the Keftiu = Cilicia theory leans heavily on the supposed relation of the Phillistines and the Phaistos Disc to Cappadocia. However, the recent decipherment of the Phaistos Disc, the proof that this object is of Cretan (not Anatolian) origin and, above all, the appearance of the place name *aqe-pirita*, "Province of Phillistia," in this inscription should dispell remaining doubts that the Phillistines, hence their homeland Caphtor (= Keftiu) are to be associated with the Aegean rather than Cappadocia. ⁽⁴⁾ On the basis of these factors, I see no reason to abandon the equation of the Egyptian term *kftiū* with Crete.

While the term *kftiū* does not appear in Egyptian texts until the Eighteenth Dynasty, some of these manuscripts are based on older

⁽¹⁾ Note especially, Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Bloomington, 1947), pp. 41-49; Pendlebury, *JEA* XVI (1930), 75-92. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, pp. 33-123, has exhaustively studied the Keftiu problem from the standpoint of the Egyptian sources and concludes that the term indicates "une partie au moins du monde égéen, seule région méditerranéenne, riche en îles, située au Nord-Ouest de l'Égypte." (p. 119)

⁽²⁾ Discussed by Peet, in Casson (ed), *Essays in Aegean Archeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 90-98. For Wainwright's discussions, cf. *JEA* XVII (1931), 30-38, and *AJA* LVI (1952), 200-02.

⁽³⁾ For example, the "Keftian" name *Nsy* of the Egyptian inscriptions is related to Hurrian *Naziia* and the contemporary Cappadocian name *Nazi*. However, a foreign *z* was borrowed into Late Egyptian as [ʃ] or [č] and not a sibilant; Semitic *zyt*, "olive", = Late Egyptian *ḥ.t*, "olive oil"; Akkadian *zabnaku*, "vessel," = Late Egyptian *čbnk*, "metal vessel"; etc. All of Wainwright's examples drawn from sources contemporary to this Egyptian inscription violate such phonetic principles.

⁽⁴⁾ Schwartz, *JNES* XVIII (1959), 105-12, 222-28. M. L. and H. Erlenmeyer, *Orientalia*, XXIX (1960), 121-48, discuss archeological evidence which shows the Philistines to be connected with the Greek "Pelasgians," further substantiating the Philistine-Aegean relationship.

originals ⁽¹⁾ and it seems certain that this term was used to indicate Crete in Middle Kingdom times. We may therefore add the evidence of the term *ḫftiūw* to the archeological evidence discussed above to substantiate a Middle Kingdom relationship with the Aegean area. This connection was indirect in that commercial ties with the Aegean appear to have been via Byblos. While no political interest may be assumed, Egyptians were resident there and the name of Crete was well known to Egyptian scribes.

The relationship between Egypt and Anatolia during the Middle Kingdom was only an indirect one. The positive evidence now available consists of the statuettes of two individuals who were resident in Anatolia in the capacity of private citizens. One is the statuette of Keri, found at Kurigan Kaleh, of Egyptian manufacture and common Middle Kingdom type. ⁽²⁾ While Keri bears no titles, the names and offering formulae carved on this piece are typical of the Middle Kingdom. ⁽³⁾ His presence in Anatolia is unexplained though we may perhaps speculate that he was a merchant, was engaged in private enterprise and did business with the Assyrian merchant colonies which flourished in Anatolia during the nineteenth century B. C. These colonies were very much interested in tin among other commodities ⁽⁴⁾ and, since the Bronze Age begins in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, ⁽⁵⁾ it is within the realm of possibility that Keri was concerned with the purchase of tin from the Assyrians. Anatolia would be a more logical source than Syria for the tin imported into Egypt though there is no evidence that the Assyrian merchants would trade this

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, pp. 38 ff.

⁽²⁾ Von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia, Season of 1726* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 66-67; *OLZ* XXX (1928), 546; Von der Osten, *AJSL* XLIII (1938), 293. The closest Egyptian parallel is a Middle Kingdom statuette in Ranke, *The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1950), fig. 43.

⁽³⁾ The title of Osiris, $\smile \overset{\text{sic}}{\uparrow}$, *nb 'nh tꜣ.wy*, is not common until the reign of Amenemhat III. The personal name *Krī* is common both in the Middle Kingdom and Empire though it is written "syllabically" in Empire times; Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. 1, (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 346, 25-29. His mother's name, *'Iti*, is found most commonly in the Middle Kingdom; *ibid.*, p. 49, 14-21.

⁽⁴⁾ Lewy, *JAOS* LXXVIII (1958), 89-101.

⁽⁵⁾ Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3d ed. rev. (London, 1948), pp. 252-53.

particular product with foreigners. ⁽¹⁾ We need not restrict Keri's interest to tin, however, since the Assyrian merchants dealt with many other products, especially textiles. Their trade routes connected with Syria and it is very possible that an Egyptian moved to Anatolia for the purpose of doing business with the Assyrian colonies there.

The other statuette is that of the Nurse Sit-snefru, found at Adana. ⁽²⁾ Sit-snefru must have been attached as governess to the household of an Anatolian noble; her situation is paralleled many times by foreigners who came to Egypt and Egyptians who travelled abroad to practise their specific professions. ⁽³⁾ The professional guilds of the Near East were quite fluid and were partly responsible for the cultural interchange which joined the nations of the East Mediterranean into an international "Near East civilization." ⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ It has been suggested that Syria was the point of origin for the tin used by Egyptian metalsmiths; Wainwright, *JEA* XX (1934), 29-32. This is doubted by Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 253, 301. Note also Forbes' discussions in *A History of Technology*. Vol. 1, *From Early Times to Fall of Ancient Empires* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 588 ff.

⁽²⁾ *BMMA* XVI (1921), 209-10; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, p. 215.

⁽³⁾ In the Wenamon narrative, for example, the prince of Byblos has an Egyptian singing-woman at his court. Some of the Egyptians mentioned in connection with the Canaanite prince Ammi-enshi in the tale of Sinuhe may also have been serving this ruler in professional capacities. It is also clear that Sinuhe himself took up service as a noble under Ammi-enshi. Asiatic dancers are mentioned in the Kahun Papyri; Wilson, *AJSJL* LVIII (1941), 232. Female textile workers appear to have been especially prized as slaves in the Middle Kingdom judging by their prominence in the list of slaves belonging to a woman of the late Middle Kingdom; Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1955), p. 108. Women also predominate in the textile industry of the Mycenaean tablets; Ventriss and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, p. 123. Asiatic orchestras are portrayed in the palace of Akhnaton; Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Amarna*. Vol. 3 (London, 1905), pls. V, VII.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Gordon's discussion in *The Aegean and the Near East*, pp. 136-43. My favorite example of the international aspect of East Mediterranean culture in ancient times comes from the tomb of the Chief Physician Nebamun; Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXIII, 2d register. Here, a wealthy Syrian is shown visiting the Egyptian doctor; the visitor's wife wears a Cretan dress. This Cretan dress on a Syrian woman in an Egyptian tomb vividly illustrates the cultural interchange of the times. This interchange is also expressed in other aspects of culture, for example, language. Many words were in current use

Egyptian representatives of this cultural phenomenon were Usir of Knossos, Keri and Sit-Snefru of Anatolia and several Egyptians living in Syria-Palestine, discussed below.

Other finds in Anatolia are inconclusive with regard to Egyptian relations during the Middle Kingdom. A small bone plaque of the Egyptian god Bes was found at Alasha Hüyük in the "lowest Hittite Level" (level IV). ⁽¹⁾ This level, however, cannot be dated accurately and may be as early as the Merchant Colony Age or as late as the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. Schaeffer has alluded to several Middle Kingdom statuettes found at Boghaz Koi though I know of no place where they have been published. ⁽²⁾

Egyptian relations with the Aegean and Anatolia during the Middle Kingdom are thus represented by material of private nature which gives some hint at commercial interests. There are positive indications that Egyptian citizens made their way to several foreign cities to practise their professions or crafts abroad. The amount of material is rather small and we may conclude that there was no attempt on the part of the Egyptian government to investigate the possibilities of trade farther afield than Syria. The Egyptian material found in Crete and Anatolia must represent private initiative rather than national; the national effort seems to have been directed toward Byblos.

In Palestine, the evidence of private endeavor is again quite strong. As I have noted above, the initial Middle Kingdom thrust northward toward the Asiatic countries began under Nebhepetre

throughout the East Mediterranean; Ugaritic *ktn*, a kind of robe, appears as *ki-to* in Linear B (*χιτων*), Hebrew *kōfēr*, "cyprus-plant", appears in Linear B as *ku-pa-re* (*κυπειρον*). Gordon, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXVI (1955), 43-106, has shown the infinite possibilities of integrating Classical and Near Eastern studies and this article is basic to an understanding of the potentialities involved.

⁽¹⁾ Koşay, *Ausgrabungen aus Alaca Höyük* (Ankara, 1944), pl. XLIV, no. AL/A88, p. 31. The term "Hittite," used by Koşay is in the archaeological not linguistic or historical sense. The scanty information given in this publication makes it impossible to date level IV, 4, where the Bes figurine was found, more exactly. At any rate, I would hesitate to date this figurine any earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁽²⁾ Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale, III^e et II^e millénaire* (London, 1948), p. 29, n. 3. Vercoutter includes Boghazkoi on his map of find-spots of Middle Kingdom statues found throughout the Near East; *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, fig. 150.

Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty. The short period of anarchy immediately preceeding the reign of Amenemhat I, first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, seems not to have lessened this initial thrust into Sinai since this king left a monument there. ⁽¹⁾ Other inscriptions also testify to the activity of Amenemhat I in Asiatic territory. Khnumhotep I, Nomarch of Beni Hassan, fought for this king both in the south and against Asiatic tribes. His biographical inscription is fragmentary but a sea expedition involving twenty ships built of *cedar* is mentioned which substantiates a tie between Egypt and Syria at the very beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. ⁽²⁾ This would lend added weight to the suggestion made above that the Eleventh Dynasty was in contact with Byblos and that there may have been some sort of connection maintained even during the First Intermediate Period. Another noble of this reign, Nesumontu, describes a military action against several peoples living north and east of Egypt which took place in Amenemhat's twenty-fourth year. ⁽³⁾ It is doubtful that any of these military campaigns actually reached Palestine proper though if Khnumhotep's fleet was sent against Asiatics (the inscription is broken at this point) it is possible that this particular action was aimed at the south Palestinian coast. There is thus no positive evidence that Egyptian military forces campaigned in Palestine during the reign of Amenemhat I though the possibility should be kept in mind.

Heretofore, a strong connection with Palestine has been assumed for the reign of Sesostri I; many scarabs bearing what has been considered the name of this king have been found at Gaza, Gezer, Lachish and Megiddo. ⁽⁴⁾ These scarabs show a variety of spellings of this royal name which can all be paralleled by examples found in

⁽¹⁾ Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I, 2d ed. rev. (London, 1953), pl. XIX, 63.

⁽²⁾ Newberry, *Beni Hassan I* (London, 1893), pl. XLIV; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, sec. 465.

⁽³⁾ Louvre Stela Cl. Breasted, *AJSL* XXI (1904-05), 153 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*. 4 vols. (London, 1931-34), II, pl. VIII, 145; IV, pls. IV-V, 3, 61, VI-VII, 268; Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*. 3 vols. (London, 1912), III, pls. CCIIB, 1, CCVA, 9, CCVII, 4; Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), no. 5; Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*. 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908), II, p. 13. Two others are with unknown provenance; Rowe, *op. cit.*, nos. 1-2.

Egypt. However, not a single one of the Palestinian scarabs can be dated without question to the period contemporary to the Twelfth Dynasty. The Gaza levels are probably later. The Lachisch scarab is from a deposit that extends into Late Bronze times. The vast Gezer collection of scarabs is almost wholly from the Second Intermediate and Empire periods. The Megiddo scarabs come from a later level and a grave which is of post Middle Kingdom date. Now there is positive evidence that scarabs of this king were manufactured much later than the Middle Kingdom. Petrie notes that scarabs of Sesostri I were reissued in the Eighteenth Dynasty. ⁽¹⁾ Scarabs of this king have also been found at Beth Shan in a level contemporary to the Eighteenth Dynasty ⁽²⁾ and in a Geometric Period deposit at Sparta. ⁽³⁾ Since none of the "Middle Kingdom" examples can be dated positively and there is proof that scarabs of this ruler were issued in later times, there is every reason to suspect that none of the scarabs found in Palestine should be dated to his reign. Hence, there is no proof that this king ever maintained relations with Palestine. ⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, the only known connections of Sesostri I and his successor, Amenemhat II, with the Asiatic lands are their inscriptions left on Sinai. ⁽⁵⁾

The reign of Sesostri II offers concrete evidence of a connection with Palestine in the famous visit of the Semitic chieftain Ibsha and his caravan. ⁽⁶⁾ Scarabs of this king are also known from Gaza and Megiddo though again we must maintain the same reservations as with the scarabs of Sesostri I. ⁽⁷⁾ I know of no later attempt, however, to reissue scarabs of this ruler.

The reign of Sesostri III gives the only undisputed record of a military campaign into Canaan. This is found in the biography of

⁽¹⁾ In the reign of Amenhotep II; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), p. 19.

⁽²⁾ Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth Shan* (Philadelphia, 1930), pl. XXXIV, 1.

⁽³⁾ Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London, 1929), pl. CCV, 2.

⁽⁴⁾ Even should a few of these scarabs be genuine after all, the appearance of a royal scarab in a foreign city does not automatically presume an Egyptian military occupation.

⁽⁵⁾ Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, p. 11.

⁽⁶⁾ Newberry, *Beni Hassan, I*, pls. XXX-XXXI, XXXVIII.

⁽⁷⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, IV, pls. VIII-IX, 365, X-XI, 465; Guy, *Megiddo Tombs* (Chicago, 1938), pl. CXVI, 8.

Sebek-khu, an army officer who served this king in his Nubian wars and in a brief campaign into Canaan where the Egyptian army captured an area called *Skmm*.⁽¹⁾ This town was located in *Rṯnw*, a general designation for Palestine and southern Syria, and may be the Biblical Shechem though this is not certain.⁽²⁾ This military action should be considered a raid and nothing more since there is no convincing evidence of any Egyptian attempt to create an Asiatic province at this time.

During the reign of Sesostri III, an Egyptian noble, Djehuti-hotep, left his statue at Megiddo.⁽³⁾ The titles carved on this statue are essentially the same (with minor additions) as those appearing in a tomb built for Djehuti-hotep at El Bersheh.⁽⁴⁾ The presence of this official at Megiddo has never been satisfactorily explained. There is nothing either in his tomb or Megiddo statue which indicates that he had authority or performed official duties in foreign lands. Furthermore, it is difficult to see why a Nomarch and High Priest of Thoth at Hermopolis (a position indicated by his priestly titles) would be resident in a foreign country; there is no good reason to insist that he was an ambassador or resident Egyptian commissioner. Yet, the statue belonged at Megiddo and Djehuti-hotep must have been there at some time during his long career.

He began his public service under Amenemhat II and survived into the reign of Sesostri III. He thus lived at a most crucial point in Twelfth Dynasty history, the government reform carried out by this latter king. During the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, the leading families of Egypt maintained a great deal of independence, being held in check only by the forceful rule of the earlier kings of

⁽¹⁾ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, secs. 676 ff.; Peet, *The Stela of Sebek-Khu* (Manchester, 1914).

⁽²⁾ Cf. Albright, *JPOS* VIII (1928), 226, 233; Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (Ventnor, 1953), p. 54. This is probably the same town mentioned in the Execration Texts as *Skmimi*; Posener, *Princes et Pays*, no. E6. A further reference to this campaign noted by Blackman, *JEA* II (1915), 13-14, may be translated otherwise, thus having no connection with an Asiatic war; cf. Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, p. 134, n. 13.

⁽³⁾ Loud, *Megiddo II, Season of 1935-39* (Chicago, 1948), pl. CCLXV. This statue is fully discussed by Wilson, *AJSL* LVIII (1941), 225-36, though Wilson has since retracted his cautious statement about a Middle Kingdom Asiatic empire; cf. *Burden of Egypt*, p. 134.

⁽⁴⁾ Newberry, *El Bersheh I* (London, 1894).

this dynasty. Sesostri III, however, reversed this situation and replaced the old feudal nobility with district officers responsible directly to the king. ⁽¹⁾ At this time, there is ample evidence that the local rulers in various parts of Egypt lost the independence they had previously enjoyed; note especially the abrupt disappearance of the ruling families of Cusae and Beni Hassan. ⁽²⁾ Such is also the case with the family of Djehuti-hotep. He was the last of his family to hold an official position and his is the last tomb at El Bersheh though *he was not buried there*, a most important point. ⁽³⁾ The family "disappears from view at the very moment that it has reached the summit of prosperity." ⁽⁴⁾

These factors point to the plausible conclusion that Djehuti-hotep was one of the local rulers who did not survive the government reform of Sesostri III. His political office of Nomarch had been inherited following the custom of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty. Hence, he was in much the same position as were the other Nomarchs whose hereditary rights were taken away. I suggest that when Sesostri III reformed the Egyptian state Djehuti-hotep went into exile and took up residence at Megiddo where he lived out the rest of his life. His presence at Megiddo would not be as an Egyptian official but as a hapless exile who left his funerary statue as the last tie between himself and his homeland. He would no doubt have gained local prominence and high position in the service of a Canaanite prince (as did Sinuhe) but his statue recorded the memory of the dignity he had once held in Egypt. Should these suggestions regarding the later life of Djehuti-hotep be correct, the difficulties raised by the presence of so high an official at Megiddo would be resolved.

The only other Middle Kingdom objects found in Palestine which can be dated to a specific reign are cylinders of Amenemhat III at Gaza and Gerar. ⁽⁵⁾ However, there are a number of other objects


⁽¹⁾ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 7th ed. (Darmstadt, 1954), I, 2, sec. 285; Hayes, *JNES* XII (1953), 31-33, and *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, pp. 134 ff.; Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, pp. 141 ff.

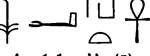
⁽²⁾ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I* (London, 1914), p. 13; Newberry, *Beni Hassan II* (London, 1894), p. 14. Cf. also Scharff and Moortgart, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich, 1950), p. 103.


⁽³⁾ Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, p. 8.

⁽⁴⁾ Newberry, *El Bersheh II*, p. 11.

⁽⁵⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, IV, p. 4, pl. IX; Petrie, *Gerar* (London, 1928), pls. XIX, 2, XVII, 18.

which have been dated to the Middle Kingdom. Petrie found several objects at Gaza, other than those already discussed, which he dated to the Middle Kingdom ⁽¹⁾ but Albright has shown that the Gaza levels are generally to be dated later. ⁽²⁾ These objects should therefore be used with caution. A statuette of Hor-ka and a scarab of Het-anekh, however, are definitely of Middle Kingdom date. The inscription of the Hor-ka statuette presents some difficulties. ⁽³⁾ It reads:  The funerary

formula "Revered before Ptah-Sokar" is of Middle Kingdom date though the title as it stands, *imy-r sꜣ (?) hnti*, is unknown to me elsewhere. It is possible that the title is to be read *imy-r sꜣ (?)* and that the name of the owner should be read *Hnti-w-kꜣ*, with the *tiw*-bird rather than the Falcon. ⁽⁴⁾ The scarab of Het-anekh is inscribed simply:  (sꜣ) 'nsw Ht-'nh, "(Scribe) of the royal archives, Het-Ankh." ⁽⁵⁾

Several Middle Kingdom objects have been found at Gezer — alabaster vessels, an axe-head and two private statuettes, both of Middle Kingdom style. ⁽⁶⁾ The first is that of the Citizen Dedu-Amon, a name used almost exclusively in the Middle Kingdom. ⁽⁷⁾ The other statuette is that of Heqa-ib, of Middle Kingdom style; the name is found commonly in this period. ⁽⁸⁾ His title is  which must be an abbreviation for *wdpw n 't (iwf, hnkt, etc.)*, "Butler of the (meat, beer, etc.) storeroom."

⁽¹⁾ An inscribed palette fragment, a canopic jar fragment, a bead inscribed "Amenemhat", a statuette fragment and stone jars; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, I, pl. XIII, 43; III, pl. XVI, 46, 49; IV, pl. XL, 107.



⁽²⁾ Albright, *AJSL* LV (1938), 359; *JAOS* LIII (1933), 287.

⁽³⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, I, pls. XXI-XXII.

⁽⁴⁾ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 273, 12, Old and Middle Kingdom.

⁽⁵⁾ Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs...*, no. 16. Names compounded with *Ht* are Old or Middle Kingdom. the present compound being found only in the Middle Kingdom; Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, p. 231, 14-17.

⁽⁶⁾ Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, II, pp. 339 ff. (vases), p. 242 (axe-head), pp. 311-313 (statuettes).

⁽⁷⁾ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 420, 14. The title of Osiris, *nb 'nh ts.wy*, is written defectively with  for .

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 256, 3.

Other private material is known from Megiddo. One scarab is inscribed *imy-r pr ḥsb kꜣw*, 'Iwꜣ-snb, a minor official having to do with the cattle census. ⁽¹⁾ Another scarab is inscribed *ihms (nt) 't* ..., *Dꜣf*, "Servant of the ... storehouse, Djaf." ⁽²⁾ Also from Megiddo are two statuette fragments other than that of Djehuti-hotep. ⁽³⁾ An interesting cylinder from Tanaach with four Egyptian hieroglyphs in the field shows affinities with Old Babylonian and contemporary seals and may thus be used to further establish Egyptian influence in Palestine during this period. ⁽⁴⁾ Finally, a scarab of unknown provenance is inscribed *iry ('t) n ꜥmꜣ.w, Wsr-ḥꜣš*, "Keeper of the winnowing (place), Usir-khepesh." This scarab may not be of Middle Kingdom date. ⁽⁵⁾ "Egyptian" beads found at Gaza and

⁽¹⁾ Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. CXLIX, 32. The name is found only in the Middle Kingdom; Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 16, 1. This title is known elsewhere in this period; Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1926, p. 17, nos. 1293-94.

⁽²⁾ Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesselim*, II, p. 13. The name occurs only in the Middle Kingdom; Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 405, 4-5. The final word of the title, represented solely by the hieroglyph 𓏏 , indicates what commodity was kept in the 't; cf. *ihms n 't dꜣr*, Wreszinski, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien* (Leipzig, 1906), no. I, 11 (M. K.); *ihms n 't ḥnk*, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 119, and Steindorff, *ASAE* XXXVI (1936), 167, no. 31 (M. K.).

⁽³⁾ Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. CCLXVI, 2-3.

⁽⁴⁾ Sellin, *Tell Ta'aneh*, fig. 22. Albright, *JPOS* XV (1935), 218, n. 73, dates this seal to ca. 2000-1800 B.C. Nougayrol and Vincent, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine* (Paris, 1939), p. 39, date it to MB II. Mesopotamian and other examples showing this style are dated to the Old Babylonian period and the contemporary "Provincial Babylonian" and "First Syrian" groups. Cf. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. XXVIII; Van Buren, *Cylinder Seals of the Pontifical Biblical Institute* (Rome, 1940), nos. 29-30; Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*. Vol. 1, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [(Washington, 1948), pls. LXII-LXIII. A Cappadocian cylinder in the Tod treasure of Amenemhat II shows the same type of figures and costume; de la Roque, et al, *Le trésor de Tôd* (Cairo, 1937), p. 19, pl. XLI, no. E. 15215.

⁽⁵⁾ Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs...*, no. 15. Rowe's translation of the title, "Guard of the 110 Canaanites," is incorrect; cf. *Wörterbuch*, V, p. 34, *Belegst.* 2. This title is of Middle Kingdom date but the personal name is known elsewhere only in the Empire; Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 86, 8. Two other scarabs may be of Middle Kingdom date: a scarab impression of the "Steward Amenemhat" and a scarab of the

Gezer have been dated to the Middle Kingdom but these are probably of local manufacture. ⁽¹⁾

It is difficult to reconstruct the type of relationship this material represents. A brief discussion of Egypto-Asiatic relations will be given after the evidence bearing on Egyptian relations with Syria has been presented since both Syria and Palestine are involved in the same general problem. Simply stated, the problem is this: scholars are divided as to whether or not the Egyptian Middle Kingdom controlled an Asiatic "empire". Some maintain that Palestine and Syria were under Egyptian control ⁽²⁾ while others reject this idea. ⁽³⁾ I suspect that a great deal of the apparent discrepancy of opinion is instead a semantic problem involving a more explicit definition of terms.

For Palestine at least the question of an Egyptian Asiatic province is easily answered though it must be remembered that there is not an overabundance of evidence. In the preceding pages, I have noted several statuettes and scarabs belonging to Egyptian citizens resident in Palestine. All of these, with the exception of Djeuhti-hotep, are persons of little importance, carrying unpretentious (and unmilitary) titles. Djehuti-hotep, the only Egyptian of any prominence in Palestine was, as I have shown above, more probably an exile than a government officer. The royal objects consist only of some cylinders of Amenemhat III and possibly some scarabs of Sesostri II. The rest of the Egyptian material in Palestine is what one should expect to

"Scribe of the Vizier, Senbef"; Rowe, *op. cit.*, nos. S 4-5. Albright, *AASOR* XVII (1938), p. 25, notes a Thirteenth Dynasty scarab found in a MB IIa level at Beit Mersim.

⁽¹⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, I, pp. 3-4; Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, II, p. 105.

⁽²⁾ Albright, *JPOS* VIII (1928), 223-56, and *From the Stone Age to Christianity*. 2d ed. (Garden City, 1957), p. 161; Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 61; O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), p. 75; etc. Other scholars restrict Egyptian domination to the Phoenician coast (Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 256) or suggest a cultural domination (Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, p. 134.)

⁽³⁾ Cf. Goetze, *BASOR* 127 (1952), 25, n. 13. Scharff, in *Ägypten und Vorderasien*, p. 107, says: "Aber von einer Besetzung Palestinas durch die Ägypter war zur Zeit des MR noch keinesfalls die Rede." Mellaart, *Anat. St.* VII (1957), 62, also rejects an Egyptian asiatic empire during the Middle Kingdom.

find in an area to which Egyptian citizens had migrated for one reason or another and which maintained commercial contact with Egypt.

The available inscriptional evidence backs up that of archeology. Only one military campaign into Palestine — that described by Sebek-khu — is established beyond doubt. Most military action against Asiatics was confined to the northern border of Egypt and Sinai. There is thus no known material which could possibly indicate an Egyptian “ empire ” in Palestine. I have purposely omitted the Execration Texts from the discussion so far since these documents present special problems and are more fully discussed below.

The evidence presently known does not indicate any Egyptian military or political control over Palestine. Instead, the same situation is found here that is found in the Aegean and Anatolia. Individual Egyptians made their way into Palestine to seek their fortunes abroad. Possibly, some of these were involved in commercial ventures of some sort or other. But there is no evidence of any kind which could back up a claim for a military occupation of Palestine nor can the material presented above establish even a political control. The Egyptian government considered Palestine in terms of booty and slaves ⁽¹⁾ and was not interested in holding a Canaanite province.

(To be concluded.)

⁽¹⁾ Several Egyptian records indicate the presence of *‘mw*-slaves in Middle Kingdom Egypt in considerable numbers; Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir III* (London, 1916), p. 13, n. 9; Baillet, *Rec. Trav.* XXVIII (1906), 129; Albright, *JAOS* LXXIV (1954), 222 ff.

Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C. (Concluded)

Author(s): W. A. Ward

Source: *Orientalia*, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1961), pp. 129-155

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43073591>

Accessed: 05-05-2019 15:52 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Orientalia*

Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C.

(Concluded)

W. A. WARD - Beirut


The picture is somewhat different in Syria where royal monuments of considerable importance have been found at several sites; I shall return to the problem of these royal monuments after noting the material of private nature found in Syria. The Twelfth Dynasty finds the connection with Byblos as strong as it had been in the Old Kingdom though objects bearing the names of Egyptian kings are noticeably fewer in Middle Kingdom times. As I have indicated above, Egyptian interests at Byblos may never have been entirely broken off during the First Intermediate Period and the twenty ships of cedar used in the reign of Amenemhat I show that there was a connection between Egypt and Syria at the very beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thus, in spite of the fact that the earliest inscribed royal object at Byblos is from the reign of Sesostri III, we can assume that the earlier kings also engaged in trade with this port.

Byblos has yielded a number of Egyptian Middle Kingdom pectorals, pendants, stone vessels and other small objects which were found in tombs and elsewhere in the excavations.⁽¹⁾ Some of this material was obviously fashioned by local craftsmen in imitation of Egyptian style and cannot be considered as royal gifts since they are generally poorer in quality than similar items known from Middle Kingdom Egypt.⁽²⁾ Some scarabs from Byblos present certain

(1) Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, nos. 23, 616-20, 647-48, 652-53, 705-06, 727; Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, no. 2865; *JE A* XIX (1933), 54. The vast collections of scarabs found at Byblos (Montet, *op. cit.*, pls. LV, LXII-LXV, Dunand, *op. cit.*, pls. CXXVII-CXXXV) should probably be dated largely to the Second Intermediate Period though a few have excellent parallels in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

(2) For example, the pectoral and pendant from the tomb of Ipshe-muab (Montet, *op. cit.*, nos. 617-18). The subject matter, the general

problems. A minor palace official, "le gardien du magasin, le dégustateur du magasin à bière Imhotep," must represent a private individual with no political status. ⁽¹⁾ A scarab with the difficult in-

scription  has been attributed to Tomb IV of Byblos. ⁽²⁾

The non-royal finds elsewhere in Syria are few in number. Statuette fragments were found at Ugarit and Qatna ⁽³⁾ and two scarabs of private individuals elsewhere in Syria. ⁽⁴⁾ The only private object of importance is the statuette of the Vizier Senusert-ankh from Ugarit. There can be no doubt that this is the same Vizier whose stela was published in 1887 by Schiaperelli. This stela contains only the standard offering formulae and adds nothing to the information gained from the Ugarit statuette. ⁽⁵⁾ His titles on the statuette are *imy-r niwt mr*, *ṯty*, *ṯṯty*, "Overseer of the Pyramid City, Vizier, He of the Veil," while on the stela he is called simply *imy-r niwt*, *ṯty*. ⁽⁶⁾ The

composition and style can be paralleled in contemporary Egyptian jewelry but the craftsmanship of the Byblos pieces is definitely inferior to their Egyptian counterparts. Other pieces such as the gold pendants from Tomb III (*ibid.*, nos. 619-20) follow the best traditions of Egyptian art and can be considered genuine imports. Of course, such conclusions often involve personal judgement but it is safe to assume that Byblian craftsmen did a great deal of copying and much of the "Egyptian" material found at Byblos is the work of local artist.

⁽¹⁾ Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1940), p. 36. I see no reason to assume that Imhotep was an ambassador, as Montet suggests.

⁽²⁾ Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 37, translates: "le noble, le prince, fils d'Iamipi, celui que presse la sandale de son père, grand de sceptre, Kanefer." In *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pp. 197-98, 203, Montet suggests that *Mdd ib.t.t.f* (this reading is questionable) is the name of the owner of the scarab and that *h' nfr* is an epithet. I much prefer reading *h' nfr* as the name of the owner of the scarab (Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 340, 10). The first few words represent "Prince, Mayor, Iamipi's son" though the name is not entirely without difficulties. The rest of the inscription must represent titles or epithets of Kanefer.

⁽³⁾ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I* (Paris, 1939), pp. 19 ff.; Du Mesnil du Buisson, *La site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna* (Paris, 1935), pp. 45-46, pl. VI.

⁽⁴⁾ *Syria VIII* (1925), 85 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ *Museo archeologico di Firenze* (Rome, 1887), p. 262, no. 1548.

⁽⁶⁾ The usual titles carried by Middle Kingdom Viziers; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, p. 24*.

names of his mother and sister are given on each monument, proving his ownership of both.

The presence of a Middle Kingdom Vizier at Ugarit has lent support to the supposition that Egypt controlled that city during the Twelfth Dynasty. ⁽¹⁾ There is no evidence, however, to support such a conclusion. As I have pointed out repeatedly in the preceding pages, private statuettes, scarabs, etc., are an indication of resident Egyptians engaged in personal business and cannot be taken to prove the existence of Egyptian political domination unless there is supporting evidence. As in the case of Djehuti-hotep, I am unable to see in Senusert-ankh an official who was at Ugarit as the resident commissioner of an Asiatic province. The titles of Senusert-ankh are those of an Egyptian Vizier and there is no logical reason to insist that a Vizier, whose duties required his presence in Egypt, would take up residence in a foreign state.

Though it anticipates my discussion of the royal monuments found in Syria, I must note at this point the statue of a Twelfth Dynasty queen which was also found at Ugarit. ⁽²⁾ Both the statuette of Senusert-ankh and this royal statue were found associated with local temples (as is frequently the case with Middle Kingdom royal statuary in Syria) and I prefer to conclude that both Vizier and Queen left monuments as tokens of Egyptian friendship to the local Canaanite gods. I doubt very much if Senusert-ankh was ever resident at Ugarit though it is possible that he delivered the queen's statue on behalf of the Egyptian state and left one of his own for good measure.

⁽¹⁾ " Egyptian statuettes and other objects from Ras Shamra prove that that city was ruled from Egypt at least from the time of Senusert II till the reign of Amenemhat III. " Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940), p. 15.

⁽²⁾ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, p. 20; *Syria* XIII (1932), 20, pl. XIV, 1. The inscription does not contain a personal name though the phrase *Hnm-nfr-ḥt* has been considered the name of a wife of Sesostri II. Brunton, *ASAE* XLIX (1949), 99 ff., has given conclusive proof that this phrase is a title of Egyptian queens, to be read *Hnmt-nfr-ḥt*, used frequently without the addition of a personal name. It is therefore difficult to date this fragment to a particular reign though a Cairo statue of a queen of Sesostri II looks enough like the Ugarit fragment to be a duplicate; cf. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten. Cat. Gen. Caire*, Vol. LXXVII, no. 382. For this reason, I would hesitate to connect this monument with the sphinx of Amenemhat III also found at Ugarit; cf. p. 133 note 1.

Egyptian influence has also been suggested for certain objects found at Alalakh. Woolley notes that "a royal portrait (of a local ruler) is modelled on an Egyptian prototype." ⁽¹⁾ This is a rather clumsy piece which may or may not be "royal" but which is certainly not modelled on an Egyptian prototype. Sidney Smith, in discussing the seal of Samshu-Adad which portrays an Egyptian god, concludes that "an Egyptian god was, or had been, worshipped by a member of the royal family of Yamkhad, in the time of Yarim-lim" ⁽²⁾ He further assumes that this seal "is good evidence that Alalakh was for some time under Egyptian rule, and the proper inference seems to be that that rule lasted down to the time of Amenemhat III, whenever it began." ⁽³⁾ Now granted that this seal shows Egyptian influence, it in no way offers any proof that Egypt ruled Alalakh at any time. Foreign gods were worshipped in all nations of antiquity. Religion was included in the general cultural interchange between Near Eastern nations and there is nothing remarkable or unique about an Egyptian god being venerated at Alalakh.

This, of course, brings up an important point emphasized by many historians, namely, that the appearance of foreign objects or influence in a given archeological context does not automatically presume foreign domination. Only when there is ample corroborating evidence can such material be so considered. Since the only proof of an Egyptian "empire" in Syria-Palestine during the Middle Kingdom is the appearance of Egyptian objects in this area, any supposed Egyptian rule over all or part of Syria-Palestine remains wholly in the realm of speculation.

Once this principle of historical investigation is laid down, the royal monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty in Syria can be studied in a new perspective. They consist of a sphinx of a daughter of Amenemhat II at Qatna, ⁽⁴⁾ an inscribed vase and pectoral of Amenemhat III at Byblos, ⁽⁵⁾ sphinxes of Amenemhat III at Neirab and

⁽¹⁾ *A Forgotten Kingdom*, p. 61, pl. 6b.

⁽²⁾ *Alalakh and Chronology*, p. 13.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁽⁴⁾ Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Mishrifé-Qatna*, p. 17; *Syria IX* (1928), 10-11, pl. XII. This monument may have been sent to the oracle at Qatna mentioned in a letter of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria from the Mari archives; *BASOR* 78 (1940), 25.

⁽⁵⁾ *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 610; *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth* I, p. 7.

Ugarit, ⁽¹⁾ a sphinx of Amenemhat IV at Beirut, ⁽²⁾ an obsidian box and stone vase of Amenemhat IV at Byblos ⁽³⁾ and the statue of an unidentified queen at Ugarit. ⁽⁴⁾

The chronological and geographical distribution of these monuments is of interest since these factors have some bearing on the arguments that follow. These monuments are found in North Syria and date mostly to the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty, that is, the eighteenth and early seventeenth centuries B. C. ⁽⁵⁾ The Thirteenth Dynasty is also represented in Asia by a few objects: a scarab of one of the Sebek-hoteps found at Gaza, ⁽⁶⁾ a relief of Neferhotep from Byblos ⁽⁷⁾ and a cylinder seal of a Sehetepibre of unknown provenance. ⁽⁸⁾

There is thus ample evidence that the kings of the late Middle Kingdom were more than passively interested in North Syria. But these monuments do not necessarily indicate an Egyptian military

⁽¹⁾ Neirab: Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, VIII, p. 395. Could this be the object referred to in *Revue archéologique syrienne* II, p. 75? Ugarit: Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, p. 21; *Syria* XIV (1933), pl. XV.

⁽²⁾ *Br. Mus. Qtrly.* II, 87, pl. 58a; *Syria* IX (1938), 300; *Mishrifé-Qatna*, p. 17.

⁽³⁾ Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, nos. 611, 614.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 131 note 2.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 148 note 1.

⁽⁶⁾ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, III, pl. III, 16; Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens* (Glückstadt, 1955), p. 59.

⁽⁷⁾ Montet, *Kemi* I (1928), 90 ff. A local Byblian prince, Entin, appears in this relief; Albright, *BASOR* 77 (1940), 27, and 99 (1945), 9 ff., has argued convincingly for an identification of Entin with Yantin-ammu, a Byblian prince mentioned in the Mari correspondence. This synchronism is of no small importance to the chronology of the period and, while I feel there is more "for" it than "against" it, others are not so inclined; Goetze calls this identification "entirely hypothetical," *BASOR* 127 (1952), 26, n. 16.

⁽⁸⁾ Pinches and Newberry, *JEA* VII (1921), 196-99. Newberry also suggests that this cylinder might date to the reign of Amenemhat I which I feel is highly improbable. On the basis of this cylinder, Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, pp. 14-15, assumes that "Byblos was an Egyptian dependency from the time of Amenemhat I." This cannot be proven on the basis of this cylinder alone which probably dates to the Thirteenth Dynasty and which does not call the owner of this object the "servant" of any Egyptian king (Smith), this being only a suggested reconstruction of the lacuna in the Akkadian portion of the inscription.

occupation of Syria nor a political domination over local affairs. ⁽¹⁾ Most scholars agree that these royal monuments are gifts from Egyptian rulers to the petty kings of Syrian city-states. The matter which has caused a diversity of opinion is the reason which motivated such gifts.

First of all, it must be made clear that the Egyptian interest in Asia was of varying degrees and we must consider several areas with the idea in mind that a different kind of Egyptian interest was exerted in each. In Palestine, the Egyptian interest was not primarily that of the government but of private individuals who went to Palestine for personal reasons. In Syria, we must probably show a difference of interest in Byblos and the rest of Syria — a condition indicated by the available evidence.

As I have noted above, the imported Egyptian material at Byblos does not point to a military or political domination. Egyptian artistic motives were copied by local craftsmen, royal gifts were found in the tombs of local rulers and Egyptian citizens were resident there. All of this evidence points to a peaceful commercial relation between the two countries. The rather modest royal gifts are what is to be expected from the friendly commercial intercourse that obviously existed. We might also see in the Tôd treasure of Amenemhat II a similar gift from a local ruler of Byblos since this city would be the logical origin for a gift to the Egyptian ruler gathered from such diverse sources.

Now there is some supporting evidence which has been taken to prove Egyptian sovereignty over that city. This consists of the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Egyptian titles (*ꜥꜥ*, *ḥꜥty*-) by the Byblian rulers. ⁽²⁾ It is true that there is some evidence that the title *ḥꜥty*-, "Mayor, Prince," was given by appointment of the king in Old Kingdom times. ⁽³⁾ However, the men who bore this title in Old

⁽¹⁾ In discussing the position of the late Middle Kingdom ruler in Asia, Hayes, *JNES* XII (1953), 34 (following Stock), concludes that "their sovereignty was recognized as far north as Byblos." As I shall show in my subsequent discussion, Egypt may well have enjoyed a position of considerable influence at Byblos but can in no way be considered sovereigns of that city. Nor can this influential position at Byblos be extended to Palestine and the rest of Syria.

⁽²⁾ Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 653, etc., and p. 277; Newberry, *JEA* XIV (1928), 109, XIX (1933), 54.

⁽³⁾ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, sec. 385; the Nomarch Djau requests that Pepi II grant this title to his deceased father as a mortuary gift (note c).

and Middle kingdom times "were more of the nature of independent barons" ⁽¹⁾ and the feudal system of the earlier Middle Kingdom, when this title was used by most local rulers, would stand against its being other than hereditary during the Middle Kingdom. ⁽²⁾ That local princes of Byblos should imitate Egyptian titles and use Egyptian hieroglyphs seems natural enough, considering the strong commercial ties which bound the two nations together. I doubt if we can lay too much stress on the use of these Egyptian elements by the Byblian princes and assume that « Aux yeux du Pharaon, le roi de Byblos n'était donc qu'un gouverneur. » ⁽³⁾

The most convincing support for Egyptian rule at Byblos is the oft mentioned relief of Neferhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty showing Entin, the Byblian ruler, doing homage before this Egyptian king. ⁽⁴⁾ However, as I will show later, this particular monument fits in perfectly with the Hurrian rise to power and is not to be taken as evidence of an "empire" but rather the resumption of Egypto-Byblian relations which had been broken off for a while. ⁽⁵⁾ The Egyptian Thirteenth Dynasty was able to maintain a strong position in Nubia but the political situation inside Egypt had reached the point where even foreigners could sit on the Egyptian throne. ⁽⁶⁾ The continued

⁽¹⁾ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, p. 31*.

⁽²⁾ In this connection note the funerary contracts from the tomb of Djefa-Hapi, an official of Sesostri I, which provide for the income of mortuary officials to care for his statues; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, secs. 535 ff., Reisner, *JEA* V (1918), 79 ff. In these contracts, the mortuary priests derive their income from the family estate which is carefully distinguished from the *pr-hṯy-ḥ*, "Count's estate." The implication is that the *pr-hṯy-ḥ* was used to pay the feudal duties required of local rulers to the king. As such it had to remain intact and all personal obligations such as the arrangements made in these contracts had to come from the private estate of the noble involved. Far from proving that the title *hṯy-ḥ* was granted to each individual by the king, as these contracts are usually interpreted, these texts indicate that the title went with the land and that the land was hereditary, a basic concept in feudalism. The king was thus always assured of an income from his nobility.

⁽³⁾ Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 277.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 133 note 7.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. p. 145 note 1.

⁽⁶⁾ I have shown elsewhere that the royal name *Hndr* of this dynasty must be equated with Ugaritic *bn ḥnzr*; this does not indicate a foreign conquest but adds greatly to the impression that conditions within Egypt were not as settled as during the Twelfth Dynasty and foreigners (in this case an Amorite) could assume the kingship; *JNES* XX (1961), No. 1.

stability in Nubia was more probably due to the activity of the southern nobility, a condition also found at the close of the Old Kingdom, rather than a strong central government.

Taken as a whole, there is no convincing proof that Egypt was the recognized overlord of Byblos or that there was any attempt during the Twelfth Dynasty to create a vassal state around that important city. First of all, there was no need to bolster an obviously mutually beneficial commercial relationship by military force or direct interference of any kind in local Byblian affairs, nor is there anything which substantiates Egyptian military control in Syria. Secondly, the imported Egyptian objects at Byblos and the local works influenced by Egyptian cultural elements are proof only of a friendly and equal relationship. I fail to see in the use of the Egyptian script, the worship of Egyptian deities, etc., anything more than flattery and obliging imitation.

Elsewhere in Syria there appears to have been quite a different emphasis, the examination of which brings us once again to the Egyptian royal monuments found in North Syria. The towns where these royal monuments were found were of no small importance. Ugarit, of course, was a great commercial center, being the western terminus for a trade route from Mesopotamia and having trade connections with the Aegean. Qatna was also on a trade route ⁽¹⁾ and the proximity of Neirab to Aleppo, another trade center, may partially account for its importance to the Egyptians.

Trade connections, while they may have been one motivating factor, do not seem to be adequate reason for sending royal statues and sphinxes to northern Syria. But there must have been strong

Beckerath's observation that "There are perhaps still more kings of non-Egyptian origin among the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty" is undoubtedly correct and future studies should show that *Hndr* was not the only foreigner to hold the throne at this time; *JNES* XVII (1958), 266, n. 30. For the Nubian situation at this time, cf. Sāve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 117 ff.

(1) O' Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, p. 26. The local ruler of Qatna was of considerable importance at this time as shown by a letter in the Mari archives; Dossin, *Syria* XIX (1938), 117 ff. Albright, *BASOR* 146 (1957), 28, characterizes Qatna as "the most important city and state south of Aleppo." The importance of Qatna to the rise of Hurrian power is indicated by its "predominately Hurrian population" in the middle of the second millennium B. C.; Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens*, p. 158.

motivation for a king of Amenemhat III's power to send his royal statuary to small far-off city-states. This king controlled northeast Africa from the third cataract to Sinai and we can hardly imagine him wooing petty kings in Syria without conditions of extreme necessity. Egypt could adequately meet her commercial needs in Asia through its traditional Syrian trading partner, Byblos, just as Kerma functioned as the Egyptian trading center in the south.

What then were the reasons of "extreme necessity" which brought royal statues and sphinxes into North Syria? I venture here to offer an alternative to a Middle Kingdom "empire" in Syria though I realize that this too involves some speculation. It seems logical to me that the Twelfth Dynasty kings were attempting to establish a buffer zone between themselves and some foreign threat to the security of their economic ties in Asia. And the obvious threat would be the southward move of a new force, culminating in the Hyksos migration. At the collapse of the Middle Kingdom, the Hyksos arrived in the Delta and we would do an injustice to the generally intelligent rule of the Twelfth Dynasty kings to say they were unaware of the factors leading up to this invasion. Nor must we suppose that the local princes of Syria were ignorant of them. Hence during the Twelfth Dynasty there must have been a mutual recognition on the part of both Egyptian kings and Asiatic princes that a new power might eventually form a threat to them all. I believe this new threat was the rise of Hurrian influence in the north.

The Hurrian influx into North Syria is one phase of a sweeping series of migrations which disturbed the Near East for a thousand years, ca. 2500-1500 B.C. These mass movements of Indo-Europeans and other peoples wrought drastic changes throughout the ancient world from the Aegean to the Indus Valley. Successive waves of Indo-Europeans from the Balkans brought Luwians, Minoans and other Indo-European tribes into the Aegean and Anatolia. ⁽¹⁾ Indo-Aryans

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Haleb and Blegen, *AJA* XXXII (1928), 141-54; Mellaart, *AJA* LXII (1958), 9-33; Mellink, in *The Aegean and the Near East*, pp. 39 ff. The actual date for the entry of the Luwians is still much debated; Mellaart, in his above-mentioned article, discusses the various scholarly opinions. If, as several authorities have suggested (cf. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, pp. 54-55), the Yortan culture of northwestern Anatolia is to be considered Luwian, a new discovery at Dorak, near the Sea of Marmora, may prove to be the key for determining the Luwian entry into Anatolia. At this site, two royal tombs of the Yortan culture were discovered. In one

came south from the Caucasus into Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran and western India. ⁽¹⁾ The effects of these ethnic movements were profound. New Indo-European cultures in the west, new Aryan cultures in the east, the Mitanni Empire, Hurrian domination in Syria-Palestine and Cilicia, the Cassite movement into Babylonia and the Hyksos movement into Egypt were all direct or indirect results of this millennium of migrations.

Within this larger context of mass ethnic movements and the rise and fall of empires comes the Hurrian move into Syria-Palestine. While the Hurrians had for some time been peacefully penetrating Mesopotamia, their political domination of Syria is generally thought to have begun ca. 1700 B.C. ⁽²⁾ However, if the Hurrians had reached the point where they could dominate Syria by the end of the eighteenth century they must have been present there for some time and we may safely say that they had been coming into this area from at least the latter half of the nineteenth century. ⁽³⁾

tomb were found some fragments of gold sheeting originally used to cover a wooden throne and bearing the cartouche of Sahure of the Egyptian Fifth Dynasty (*ILN*, Nov. 28, 1959). This inscription dates the Dorak tombs to the middle of the third millennium. However, there is still considerable doubt that the Yortan culture was Luwian at all and caution is necessary in using the Dorak finds as proof of a Luwian settlement in Anatolia at this early date.

While this Old Kingdom inscription is so far unique in Anatolia, it does not stand isolated. It must be remembered that an inscribed stone cup of the same dynasty was found *in situ* in a pre-Mycenaean deposit on the island of Kythera; Evans, *Journ. Hell. St.*, XVII, 349; Sethe, *ZAS* LIII (1917), 55-78. Gordon has recently placed this latter find in historical perspective in *JNES* XVII (1958), 245.

⁽¹⁾ The Indo-Aryans began destroying the local cultures of northern Baluchistan ca. 2000 B.C. and then worked their way south into the Indus Valley where they destroyed the stagnant Harappa Culture; Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth-Middlesex, 1950), chap. 7; Ghirshman, *Iran* (Harmondsworth-Middlesex, 1954), pp. 60 ff. The Aryan movement into Mesopotamia was already under way in the first half of the seventeenth century B.C.; Albright, *BASOR* 78 (1940), 30-31.

⁽²⁾ The authoritative works on the Hurrians are still those of Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944), and Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.," *AASOR* XIII (1933), 13-54. Good summaries are given in Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens*, chap. 9, and O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, pp. 37 ff.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Speiser, *JAOS* LXXIV (1954), 19. A domination ca. 1700 B.C. is based primarily on the "high" chronology. According to the "mid-

Just when the Hurrians first came into North Syria is, of course, impossible to state with certainty since we lack sufficient evidence to date their entry into this area. But a gradual infiltration of foreigners can never be dated explicitly due to the very nature of such a movement. The only date that can be determined, and this only approximately, is the general period in which they have arrived in sufficient numbers to represent a substantial part of the population. Hettie Goldman suggests that a new influence in southeastern Anatolia at the end of EB III (ca. 2100 B.C.) may have been brought by Hurrians though she offers this only as a possibility. ⁽¹⁾ Hurrian names appear among the documents of the nineteenth century Assyrian colonies in Anatolia though these Hurrians are few in number and there is some doubt that they represent local inhabitants. ⁽²⁾

The first concrete evidence comes from the earlier group of tablets found at Alalakh (Level VII) dating to the latter part of the reign of Hammurapi of Babel. ⁽³⁾ These tablets show that a substantial part of the population of Alalakh at this time was Hurrian. Many Hurrian words for objects of everyday use as well as Hurrian month names are also found in these texts. This combined evidence "confirms the impression that far from marking merely the beginning of Hurrian penetration into North Syria the texts of Level VII show that this component of the population was already strong, if not indigenous there." ⁽⁴⁾ Unfortunately, the chronological position of the early Alalakh tablets is affected by one of the most debated problems in ancient Near Eastern history, the accession date of Hammurapi of Babel. This chronological problem also has some bearing on the relations between Egypt and Syria during the late Middle Kingdom and I shall return to it after the remainder of the Egyptian material has been discussed.

dle" chronology, this domination would begin a half century or so earlier. I shall return to this chronological problem at the end of the present article.

⁽¹⁾ *Relative Chronologies*, p. 75. Cf. Mellaart, *Anat. St.* VII (1957), 67.

⁽²⁾ "The occurrence of Hurrian names in the Cappadocian Tablets does not presuppose even partial occupation of Anatolia by the Hurrians... and it is very probable that in most cases the Hurrians reached Anatolia along with the Assyrians." Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 61.

⁽³⁾ Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953).

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 9. During this period, Hurrians were also present in force at Chagar Bazar on the upper reaches of the Khabur River though they were still a minority farther south as shown by the Mari tablets.

Returning now to the suggestion that prompted the above remarks, it seems to me that the Egyptian royal monuments sent to North Syria were sent for a specific purpose, that purpose being an attempt to contain the rising tide of Hurrian power. That this Hurrian influx actually represented a threat to the security of Egypt is, of course, amply proven by the subsequent Hyksos invasion. ⁽¹⁾

It has long been accepted that the Hyksos movement was a by-product of the general migrations into the Near East noted above, representing the southernmost thrust of the ethnic movements which upset the equilibrium of the Near East during the first half of the second millennium B.C. Their origins are still open to question but the most reasonable explanation is that they represent a group thrust farther south by the Hurrians between 1750 and 1500 B.C. Their ethnic composition was largely Semitic and attempts to show other elements among the Hyksos have been unsatisfactory. ⁽²⁾ The southward thrust of the Hurrians is best illustrated by the change in the ethnic composition of Syria-Palestine during this period. The population of Palestine and southern Syria was predominately Amorite in the eighteenth century B.C., a fact best known from the Egyptian Execration Texts (discussed below). I have already noted the considerable Hurrian population of eighteenth century Alalakh, a situation which is found in northern Mesopotamia, all of Syria and parts of Palestine by 1500 B. C. ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ To date, the best general survey of the Hyksos Period is that of Sève-Söderbergh, *JEA* XXXVII (1951), 53-71, who correctly challenges many previously held opinions concerning the Hyksos rule. Since the present article is not directly concerned with the Hyksos problem, the reader is referred to this article for the extensive literature on the subject up to 1951. Two more recent works on the Hyksos are Alt, *Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht* (Berlin, 1954), Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III (München 1959) 72-98, and Mayani, *Les hyksos et le monde de la Bible* (Paris, 1956).

⁽²⁾ For literature, cf. Sève-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Speiser, *AASOR* XIII (1933), 48 ff., makes out a good case for Hurrian cultural elements among the Hyksos. There is no reason to doubt this since some contact must have been made with the Hurrians as they pushed southward into Syria and Palestine. However, there is no indication of other than Semitic (Amorite) names among the Hyksos; Albright, *BASOR* 78 (1940), 31, n. 2, and *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 202, n. 4.

⁽³⁾ Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 69; Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens*, pp. 158-59; Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 205; Speiser, *AASOR* XIII (1933), 26. Syria was further troubled by a

This new situation had been taking shape for a considerable period prior to the early Alalakh tablets and there is no reason to deny knowledge of the potential danger to Egypt on the part of the Twelfth Dynasty rulers. Byblos was an ideal listening post where they could carefully observe the political developments of western Asia. Once the new developments in North Syria were appreciated, the natural step would be to gain Syrian allies who could at least maintain a balance of power in Syria and possibly prevent any southward expansion which could endanger the security of the Nile Valley. I believe that the royal sphinxes and statues sent to North Syrian states are proof that the Twelfth Dynasty kings were fully aware of the potentialities which could result from a strong Hurrian ethnic element in Syria.

It now remains to discuss the Egyptian Execration Texts, one of the primary sources for Middle Kingdom foreign relations, to determine if these documents throw any light on the general hypothesis proposed here. This is especially necessary since these texts have often been cited as proof of an Egyptian empire in Asia.

Scholars have long debated the date of these texts, published in two collections by Sethe and Posener.⁽¹⁾ There does not seem to be any doubt that the Posener collection is to be dated to the latter part of the Twelfth or even the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁽²⁾ While Sethe dated the original collection to the Eleventh Dynasty, this date has been questioned by several scholars and the consensus of opinion on the part of Egyptologists is that the Sethe collection also dates to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty.⁽³⁾ I see

southward expansion of the Hittite Old Kingdom in the seventeenth century B.C. under Hattusilis I and Mursilis I. This Hittite expansion may well have been partly responsible for the southward move of the Hurrians.

(1) Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1926). Posener *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels, 1940). While these two publications represent the most important material, there are several other texts which have not been published. Posener, *Chron. d'Ég.* no. 27 (1939), 39 ff., has given a brief description of the material known at that time. Much of this material deals with Egyptians though some figurines from Saqqara are of the same type that Posener published in 1940. Cf. also p. 142 note 1.

(2) Posener, *Princes et pays*, pp. 34-35.

(3) Sethe, *Ächtungstexte*, pp. 14-18. Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 35, says they are "légèrement plus anciens" than the second collection. Several

nothing to prevent our dating both collections to this later period as far as the historical background is concerned and find it hard to ignore the bulk of Egyptological opinion with regard to matters of script, etc. The whole problem of the date could be immediately solved if the Egyptians cursed in the Sethe texts could be positively identified from other monuments. All eight proscribed Egyptians as well as the noblewomen they served bear names commonly used throughout the Middle Kingdom and, as yet, they have not been found elsewhere. ⁽¹⁾

Another problem with regard to these texts has also been in dispute, namely, the reasons which motivated their being written in the first place. They were obviously intended to prevent by magical means any real or potential enemy of the Egyptian state from damaging Egyptian interests. But here is the crux of the matter. Do these texts list rulers and states which belonged to an Egyptian "empire" in Asia or do they catalogue those rulers of independent states that might become hostile? As I have indicated above, it is likely that these texts deal with potential enemies rather than rebellious vassals and they do not indicate the extent of Egyptian military or political

writers have advanced a later date for the Sethe texts though an early date is vigorously defended by Albright in many places; cf. *BASOR* 83 (1941), 30 ff. William F. Edgerton has cautiously concluded that "the extreme limits of possibility seem to me to be Sesostriis III - Thutmosis III (say 1900-1450 B.C.) and the earlier extreme seems as improbable as the latter"; *JAOS* LX (1940), 492, n. 44. Wilson, whose opinion in matters of Middle Kingdom hieratic is not to be taken lightly, agrees with Edgerton in *AJSL* LVIII (1941), 233, n. 4, and suggests a date ca. 1850-1730 B.C. in *Burden of Egypt*, p. 158. Montet, *Kémi* I (1928), 19-28, dates the Sethe collection to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Scharff, however, upholds the Eleventh Dynasty date in *Ägypten und Vorderasien*, pp. 93-94.

(1) Dating these texts by the Egyptian names appearing in them is at best a procedure which can only yield general conclusions unless specific monuments can be quoted. For example, the name *Sbk-htp* appears in the Sethe lists (no. 04) and, while this is a royal name of the Thirteenth Dynasty, it appears on dated monuments bearing the cartouches of Sesostriis II, Sesostriis III and Sebekemsaf; *Hieroglyphic Texts... in the British Museum*, IV, nos. 155, 170, 280. Posener has been able to produce better results with some Egyptian names from the unpublished texts though here, too, the conclusions must remain tentative for the present; *Chron. d'Ég.* no 27, pp. 42-43. Generally, all that can be said of the Egyptian names found in these texts is that they were commonly used throughout the Middle Kingdom.

authority in Asia at all. They rather indicate the extent of an unrest in Canaan against which the late Middle Kingdom rulers were powerless to take military action.

Up to this point, I have ignored the Nubian sections of these texts which of course must be considered along with the Asiatic lists. Taking the Execration Texts as a whole, some interesting factors are apparent. Comparing the Asiatic sites where Middle Kingdom material has been found with the towns mentioned in the Execration Texts, a singular situation emerges. Cities such as Gerar, Gaza, Gezer and Megiddo where Middle Kingdom objects have been discovered are not found among the cursed enemies of the Execration Texts. Much the same is true in the Nubian lists. Middle Kingdom Egypt is known to have controlled by military force such important towns as Buhen, Aniba, Semneh, etc., yet these places are likewise absent from the Execration Texts. ⁽¹⁾

But the political situation in Nubia was not analogous to that in Asia. Egypt controlled the "fortress-towns," that is, fortified sites along the Nile River. ⁽²⁾ Rebellion was not likely to have much success in the parts of Nubia garrisoned by Egyptian troops; revolt would be more apt to occur in those districts where a strong Egyptian military establishment was not maintained. There was good reason for this military occupation in the south. Egypt maintained an important commercial center just below the third cataract at Kerma, the Byblos of the south. The fastest and most economical route northward was the Nile River and this passed through the territory of Nubian tribes who generally resented Egyptian rule. To insure the safe passage of the commercial wealth of the southern countries into Egypt, it was necessary to hold a Nubian province by force of arms, thus creating an Egyptian empire in the south.

There can be little doubt that the motivation for creating foreign provinces was to exploit the natural resources of neighboring territories and to bring into Egypt a surplus wealth which could not be obtained from within the borders of the Egyptian state. Nubia was rich in gold, cattle and slaves while Kerma was the gateway through which the luxury products of the Sudan were shipped to Egypt.

⁽¹⁾ The towns in the Nubian lists, with the exception of four well-known localities, are mostly otherwise unknown from contemporary sources; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 61.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 ff.; Gardiner, *JEA* III (1916), 184 ff.

Sinai produced turquoise and copper and various sites in the deserts were sources for gold and building-stone. There is ample evidence that these areas were under Egyptian military control, primarily because the channels of trade were land routes which had to be defended against local opposition.

But such was not the case in Syria-Palestine. The focal point of Egyptian trade in the north was Byblos and this city could most easily be reached by sea. Since the connection with Byblos was a friendly one and the Egyptian factory there amply fulfilled the commercial desires in Assia, there was no need to hold this city by military force and certainly no need to maintain garrisons of troops along a land route through Canaan. I have shown above that the Middle Kingdom material found in the general area covered by the Execration Texts (Palestine and southern Syria) does not indicate political or military domination. This material is mostly of private nature and cannot be taken as evidence that Egypt was holding an Asiatic province at this time. We therefore cannot conclude that the situation in Asia was similar to that in Nubia — that certain areas were occupied to insure the safe transit of goods to Egypt. ⁽¹⁾

Assuming a friendly commercial relationship with Asia, we can make some attempt to explain the geographical situation in the Execration Texts. Gerar, Gaza, Ashqelon, Ekron, Gezer and Megiddo were all on or near the main land route through Palestine. Yet, of these cities, those where Middle Kingdom material has been found (Gerar, Gaza, Gezer, Megiddo) are not mentioned in the Execration Texts. If, as I feel proper, we date these documents to the late Middle Kingdom, this situation is easily explained. The weaker kings of this period were losing their commercial hold on this important trade route and certain cities were beginning to show a hostility they had not previously shown. Such would be Ashqelon and Ekron which are listed among the cursed Asiatics. Other cities such as

⁽¹⁾ These land routes, however, should not be minimized as they were of great importance to the economy of Egypt. The main route into Palestine was actually fortified during the Empire but there seems to have been no need to fortify the land route into Palestine in earlier times. There is nothing in Middle Kingdom records or contemporary Palestine to indicate any military occupation of towns along the land route. Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* VI (1920), 99 ff., for the military road between Kantareh, near the modern Suez Canal, and Gaza, the regular port of entry for land caravans from Egypt. Cf. also, Wilson, *Burden of Egypt*, p. 100.

Gaza and Megiddo were hesitant to break off trade relations with their richer neighbor to the south. The circumstances which gave some Asiatic princes the courage to withdraw from Egypt's commercial sphere of influence were the growing Hurrian menace farther north and an Egypt that was too weak to do much about it.

This also explains another consideration which would cause some surprise if the Execration Texts were not dated to the late Middle Kingdom. This is the inclusion of Byblos in the general terms "Asiatics of Byblos" (Sethe lists) and "Tribes of Byblos" (Posener lists). Since Byblos was on friendly terms with Egypt during the Twelfth Dynasty and the two countries enjoyed a lucrative commercial relationship, we should hardly expect to find Byblos cursed as an enemy. It is much more likely that Byblos too was growing cool towards its Egyptian partner and was slipping into the Hurrian orbit of influence. ⁽¹⁾ The omission of Neirab, Qatna and Ugarit from these documents also shows that the Twelfth Dynasty alliances which had resulted in the erection of royal monuments at these sites had already been deserted by cities that were now tending to placate a more pressing menace, the Hurrians. This would explain why the Execration Texts cover Syria-Palestine only as far north as a line running just north of Damascus to the Eleuthrus Valley in central Phoenicia. ⁽²⁾ North Syria had dropped from the Egyptian sphere of influence and this could only happen during the period following the strong kings of the Twelfth Dynasty.

⁽¹⁾ Byblos appears as an independent state in the Mari archives; Goetze, *BASOR* 127 (1952), 26. Since the Mari texts post-date the height of the Middle Kingdom, they may well reflect a situation at Byblos when Egyptian influence was waning between Amenemhat IV and Neferhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who briefly restored the relationship. This probably explains the background for the important monuments of Neferhotep I which shows the local ruler of Byblos doing homage before this king. The rulers of Byblos were vacillating in their loyalties. As long as Egypt was led by the strong Twelfth Dynasty kings, Byblos was happy to maintain this friendly commercial tie. The appearance of Byblos in the Execration Texts indicates that the Byblian rulers had retreated into an uneasy neutrality during the decades that followed because of the new Hurrian menace. During the brief resurgence of Egyptian strength under Neferhotep I, the "prodigal son" returned to lie prostrate before this king, anxious to repair the breach caused by his apostacy.

⁽²⁾ Albright, *Archeology of Palestine*, p. 85; *BASOR* 83 (1941), 33.

But I do not intend these remarks to suggest that the Asiatic situation alone was the motivation for the publication of general proscriptions of all Egyptian enemies, real or potential. On the contrary, the factors I have just noted point in the opposite direction. The two collections of Execration Texts represent the relationship of the Egyptian state to the external world at two specific moments in its history. Neither the African nor the Asiatic political conditions indicated in these documents can lay prior claim to being the stimulation for a general cursing aimed at the entire area into which Egyptian interests reached.

We may plausibly reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the publication of these documents as follows. Sometime toward the close of the Twelfth Dynasty, or shortly thereafter, it was felt that some measures had to be taken to quiet the waves of unrest that were threatening to destroy the economic position of Egypt, if not Egypt itself. While the Nubian situation was still in hand, there were certain important chieftains and several minor tribes who were potential threats to the southern trade. Within the government, there was a more immediate danger occasioned by a conspiracy among the officials of the royal Harim. In Asia, the growing power of the Hurrians in Syria was having its effect on Egyptian commercial relations there and this disturbance was also being felt in Palestine, normally friendly and peaceful. Hence a general proscription was ordered aimed at stopping all these more tangible disturbances while any unknown threat to the throne was covered in the general curses at the end. This first general proscription was obviously aimed at thwarting a series of hostile or potentially hostile moves which were taking place at one specific time.

But the first proscription did not have the desired effect and, possibly within a generation or so, a second general proscription was ordered. ⁽¹⁾ A comparison between the two collections shows that in the Asiatic section, the two lists are quite different; the second collection lists over three dozen new localities. This substantiates the thesis I have advocated here and points directly to the general historical situation I have outlined in the preceding pages. The

⁽¹⁾ Based on two examples of probable father-son relationships in the Nubian lists, Posener, *Princes et pays*, pp. 49 ff. (nos. A 1-2), suggests that the second collection represents the generation of rulers following that of the Sethe texts. Even if such evidence is inconclusive, there was certainly no more than fifty years separating the two collections.

Hurrian threat was now becoming more acute, more and more towns were showing evidence of new hostility and Egypt's position in Syria and Palestine was rapidly becoming increasingly untenable. The Nubian section of the second proscription is substantially the same as the first with a few additions. The second proscription, then, represents a moment in history not too far removed from the first; Egypt was in a far more dangerous position in Asia but had managed to retain its hold on Nubia.

While I am aware that these considerations in themselves do not solve the problem of the date of these texts, it is apparent that they must have originated in a period in Middle Kingdom history when all the circumstances I have noted above were present. To have the situation indicated by the Execration Texts, Egypt had to have control over the Nile Valley in Nubia but not necessarily the peripheral areas. Furthermore Egypt had to have considerable commercial interests in Asia which were now in danger from a new hostile attitude on the part of local Asiatic rulers. Internal conditions had to be such that a conspiracy against the throne could be organized and carried through to the point where some opposing act on the part of the king was necessary. Finally, the relationship with Byblos had to be in jeopardy. Now all these circumstances point directly to the period immediately following the Twelfth Dynasty and are in perfect accord with the situation in Asia as known from other sources.

We are now in a position to judge if this Egyptian evidence throws any light on the much debated chronology of Western Asia during the first half of the second millennium B. C. I do not propose to analyze this very involved problem in detail since the available evidence from Asia at least has been exhaustively studied by the leading historians of our day. What I intend to show is the tentative conclusion indicated by the Egyptian evidence I have discussed here.

Basically, there are three chronologies currently proposed which are concerned primarily with the date of Hammurapi of Babel and related historical events. The "high" chronology places his accession at 1848 B. C., the "middle" chronology at 1792 B. C. and the "low" chronology at 1728 B.C. ⁽¹⁾ Since the early Alalakh tablets

(¹) For the "high" chronology, cf. Goetze, *BASOR* 122 (1951), 18 ff., 146 (1957), 20 ff.; *JCS* XI (1957), 53 ff., 63 ff. For the "middle" chronology, cf. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, and *AJA* LXIX (1945),

come in the latter half of the reign of Hammurapi of Babel, the three proposed chronologies would date these documents ca. 1825, 1775 or 1700 B. C.

But the problem which concerns us here is the period prior to the early Alalakh tablets when the Hurrians were gradually building up their strength in North Syria and the relation of this Hurrian influx to the Egyptian royal monuments in Syria and the Execration Texts. It is logical to allow a century or so as the time necessary for the Hurrians to infiltrate Syria and gather the numbers necessary to present the ethnic situation shown at Alalakh during the period of the earlier group of tablets. According to the three chronologies noted above, this century of Hurrian infiltration would be as follows:

Chronology	Hammurapi	Early Alalakh tablets	Hurrian influx
High	1848-1806	ca. 1825	1925-1825
Middle	1792-1750	ca. 1775	1875-1775
Low	1728-1686	ca. 1700	1800-1700

Now the Middle Kingdom royal monuments sent to North Syria date from Amenemhat II to Amenemhat IV, that is, approximately 1925 to 1790 B.C.⁽¹⁾ The Execration Texts fall in the period ca. 1825-1750 B.C., that is, toward the close of the Middle Kingdom and most probably after 1800 than before. I have maintained that the royal monuments are evidence of the concern of the strong pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty over the influx of Hurrians and that the Exe-

1-24. For the "low" chronology, cf. Albright, *BASOR* 88 (1942), 28 ff., 126 (1952), 24 ff., 127 (1952), 27 ff., 144 (1956), 26 ff., 146 (1957), 26 ff. Further references to the considerable literature on this subject may be found in these studies and the excellent survey of the problem by Rowton, *JNES* XVII (1958), 97 ff. Other schemes have been suggested which give even earlier and later dates for Hammurapi's accession; cf. Landbserger, *JCS* VIII (1954), 31 ff., 106 ff. (ca. 1900 B.C.), and Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, p. 69 (1704 B.C.).

(¹) Various schemes for Twelfth Dynasty chronology have been proposed though the difference between them amounts to no more than a decade; Edgerton, *JNES* I (1942), 314; Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), p. 69; Scharff, *Ägypten und Vorderasien*, p. 191; Wood, *BASOR* 99 (1945), 5 ff. I cannot accept the lowering of the dates for the Twelfth Dynasty as proposed by Alliot, *JNES* IX (1950), 204 ff., and Weill, *XII^e dynastie royauté de Haute-Égypte et domination Hyksos dans le Nord* (Cairo, 1953).

cration Texts are evidence of the last feeble effort on the part of the weaker kings at the close of the Middle Kingdom to halt the imminent dangers occasioned by this Hurrian influx. Using the "middle" chronology, the situation is as follows:

EGYPT ⁽¹⁾			WESTERN ASIA		
Amenemhat II	1929-1895		Egyptian		
Sesostris II	1897-1879		Royal	Hurrian	
Sesostris III	1878-1843		Monuments	Rise	
Amenemhat III	1842-1797		in	to Power	
Amenemhat IV	1798-1790		Syria	in	
Sebeknefrure	1789-1786		Execration	No. Syria	1792
Thirteenth Dynasty	1785 ff ⁽²⁾			Hammurapi	
			Texts	Hurrians	of
				Dominant	Babel
				at Alalakh	1750

It is readily seen that the period during which the Hurrians were infiltrating North Syria corresponds to the period during which Egyptian kings were sending their royal monuments to important cities in this area. Even more striking is the fact that the early Alalakh tablets showing the Hurrians strongly entrenched in North Syria are contemporary to the period during which the Execration Texts were written.

It is also possible to draw similar conclusions using the "high" chronology. The period of Hurrian infiltration would correspond exactly to the period during which the Twelfth Dynasty kings were

⁽¹⁾ I give here Parker's dates which are the median dates proposed by various scholars for this period. Naturally, the chart is quite simplified to illustrate clearly the particular points at issue.

⁽²⁾ It is still problematic as to whether or not the Thirteenth Dynasty followed immediately after the Twelfth. There may have been a short period of anarchy at the close of the Twelfth Dynasty but this does not alter the present discussion.

sending their monuments to North Syria and the Execration Texts would still be roughly contemporary to the Alalakh tablets, or shortly thereafter. Based on the Egyptian evidence presented here, the "high" chronology could be considered that which coincides most nearly to the Egyptian attempts to offset the growth of Hurrian influence in Syria. However, one vital chronological synchronism stands against this. Albright has shown that Neferhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty was a contemporary of Yantin-ammu, a prince of Byblos mentioned in the Mari correspondence. ⁽¹⁾ Hence Neferhotep I was roughly contemporary to Zimri-lim of Mari and Hammurapi of Babel. The "high" chronology would place the Mari archives at ca. 1825 B.C. ⁽²⁾ and this would then have to be the approximate date for Neferhotep I which is, of course, impossible.

Using the "middle" chronology, Hammurapi reigned 1792-1750 B.C., Zimri-lim ca. 1790-1760 B.C. and Yantin-ammu ca. 1760 B.C. Accepting Albright's equation of Yantin-ammu with Entin of the Neferhotep relief, ⁽³⁾ we must accordingly date Neferhotep I in this general period. Albright, following Farina's reconstruction of the Turin Papyrus (a most frustrating document) insists that Neferhotep I must have become king between 1747 and 1735 B.C. and suggests 1740-1729 B.C. as the most probable dates for his reign. ⁽⁴⁾ Stock places the beginning of the "Sebekhotepgruppe" (of which Neferhotep was the second king) at ca. 1765/60 B.C. which would date Neferhotep I at ca. 1762/57-1751/46 B.C. ⁽⁵⁾ Sève-Söderbergh prefers a date midway between these two, 1750-1740 B.C. ⁽⁶⁾ All accept 1778 B.C. as the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Now the solution does not require

⁽¹⁾ Cf. p. 133 note 7.

⁽²⁾ Hammurapi took Mari in his thirty-second year which would be 1816 B.C. according to this chronology; the Mari archives fall a few years prior to this event, during the latter years of Zimri-lim.

⁽³⁾ While it may be argued that the two names are the same but represent different kings in the same dynasty. I am inclined to follow Albright on this point.

⁽⁴⁾ *BASOR* 99 (1945), 13 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ *Studien*, p. 62.

⁽⁶⁾ *JEA* XXXVII (1951), p. 54 n. 1. He rightly cautions against the lower dates since several kings in the Turin Papyrus between the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and Neferhotep I may have been contemporary. The Turin Papyrus has recently been restudied and scholars now have available the combined efforts of Ibscher, Černý, Botti and Gardiner in the latter's *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959).

that Neferhotep be contemporary to Zimri-lim, only that the reign of Yantin- \acute{a} mmu overlap those of Neferhotep and Zimri-lim. Consequently, both Albright's highest date (1747 B. C.) and Stock's lowest date (1757 B. C.) for the accession of Neferhotep I are close enough to 1760 B.C. to allow Yantin- \acute{a} mmu to have ruled during a portion of the reigns of both Neferhotep I and Zimri-lim even though according to this reconstruction, Mari was conquered and Zimri-lim's reign ended several years before Neferhotep came to the Egyptian throne.

Turning now to the "low" chronology, the reign of Hammurapi is dated 1728-1686 B.C., the early Alalakh tablets to ca. 1700 B.C. and the rise of Hurrian power in Syria to the eighteenth century B.C. This period of Hurrian infiltration is much too low to coincide with the Egyptian royal monuments in Syria which begin with Amenemhat II (1929-1895 B.C.).

In conclusion, my interpretation of the Egyptian evidence points to the "high" or "middle" chronology as being the possible alternatives. At present, the "high" chronology is ruled out by virtue of the synchronism between Neferhotep I and Yantin- \acute{a} mmu; the only way this synchronism could be discarded is to prove that Entin of the Neferhotep relief and Yantin- \acute{a} mmu of the Mari letters are not the same ruler. It seems likely to me that, based on the Egyptian evidence, the "middle" chronology is the correct one. ⁽¹⁾

It now remains to summarize the various elements of the preceding discussion to show that my interpretation of the Egyptian evidence is compatible with both the situation in North Syria and the "middle" chronology. During the Twelfth Dynasty, when strong kings sat on the throne, Egypt enjoyed peaceful commercial relations with Palestine and Syria. There was a rather considerable movement of Egyptian citizens into foreign countries and we find Egyptians resident throughout the East Mediterranean area though, of course, the center of Egyptian commercial interest in the north was at Byblos. It was through this vital port that indirect connections were maintained with other areas beyond the Syrian coast. While it is pro-

⁽¹⁾ While it would be premature to say that my reconstruction of Middle Kingdom foreign relations with Syria solves the problem, it is satisfying to see that Rowton, after his latest analysis of the Asiatic evidence, has come to the same conclusion, in *JNES* XVII (1958), 111, thus altering his own previous acceptance of the "low" chronology; cf. *BASOR* 126 (1952), 20 ff.

bably true that the effort at Byblos was a royal enterprise, there is at present no evidence to indicate that the Egyptian state engaged in commercial activities elsewhere in the East Mediterranean. The material now known points in the opposite direction. Egyptian citizens migrated on their own initiative to foreign countries for reasons that appear to be personal.

After all the evidence has been examined, there is no proof of any attempt on the part of the Egyptian government to create an Asiatic province and the oft repeated statement that Egypt "ruled" part or all of Syria-Palestine is simply not founded on fact. Where the facts are known, we see instead private individuals engaged in private business and with no apparent official responsibilities to the Egyptian state. The one positive record of Egyptian military activity in Asia is that given by Sebek-khu in the reign of Sesostri III and here there is nothing to indicate more than an isolated raid into Palestine.

But the foreign policy of the Egyptian state was by no means entirely restricted to its commercial ventures at Byblos. During these years of peaceful contact in the north, the Hurrians were gradually infiltrating into northern Syria. While contemporary sources are lamentably rare, there is enough indirect evidence to show that this new influx of foreigners was having a profound effect on the local political scene. It is possible that the Hurrians were responsible, at least in part, for the abrupt disappearance of the Assyrian merchant colonies in Anatolia and were the force which kept Hammurabi from moving farther north than Nineveh. ⁽¹⁾ Against this background,

⁽¹⁾ O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, p. 49, has made an important suggestion relative to the Hurrians as a disruptive factor in the north at this time. "Hence future evidence may bear out the present suggestion that the growing presence of the Hurrians in the west may have had its part in the final cessation of trade there, and, with the passage of a century or more, their concentration in the upper highlands could easily have given pause to any thought Hammurabi might have had to push his armies westward along the northern route beyond Nineveh." Some of the "future evidence" anticipated by this scholar is precisely the Egyptian material I have been discussing here. While this does not prove O'Callaghan's theory beyond doubt, the Egyptian relationship with Syria at the close of the Middle Kingdom certainly supports his suggestions. It is most probable that the Hurrians were not the only new forces involved in these disturbances. Toward the close of the Hittite Old Kingdom, the Kashkeans also lent their weight to the collapse of Hittite power at

vague though it may be, it is now possible to interpret certain contemporary Egyptian evidence.

Well aware of the possibilities raised by Hurrian power in the north, the Twelfth Dynasty kings took immediate steps to prevent any interruption of the commercial prosperity that meant so much to Egypt. Having made agreements with key cities in North Syria, they deposited their royal monuments in those cities as a token of their desire to maintain a status quo in Syria. It would appear that these measures were sufficient to maintain a balance of power and Egypt's commercial position during the strong Twelfth Dynasty.

The situation changed considerably at the close of the Twelfth Dynasty and the period which immediately followed. This is the period during which the Alalakh tablets and the Mari archives were written and these sources, combined with the Egyptian Execration Texts, give evidence of a struggle in Asia which, though it did not erupt into actual military hostilities, shifted the balance of power into the hands of the new Hurrian element. The early Alalakh tablets show the Hurrians present in force in North Syria while the Mari archives indicate that many of the local Amorite princes of this area were independent. This points to a general tendency on the part of the Syrian rulers to withdraw into at least a neutral position between a waning Egypt and a rising Hurrian power. This, I think, can be the only explanation for the appearance of Byblos among the cursed enemies of the Execration Texts. Byblos had severed its commercial tie with Egypt, probably through fear of its more immediate Hurrian neighbors, and was sitting on the sidelines, so to speak, until the outcome of this new situation was settled.

While the closing years of the Twelfth Dynasty and the period that immediately followed are still obscured by the lack of evidence, it is at least clear that Egypt continued to retain its hold on Nubia. But the central government was faced with internal problems and could give little practical attention to its crumbling prestige in Asia. The fact the foreigners sat on the Egyptian throne during this period and that a conspiracy figures in the Execration Texts is solid proof that all was not well with the government.

this time and, of course, the Aryans were beginning to enter the scene during this troubled period; cf. Goetze, *BASOR* 122, (1951), 20, Speiser, *JAOS* LXXIV (1954), 19-20, and p. 138 note 1.

It is between the strong kings of the Twelfth Dynasty and the brief resumption of power under Neferhotep I that we must place the Execration Texts. Far from being able to take the necessary steps to assure the continuation of Egyptian influence in Asia, the kings of this period resorted to magic to prevent the storm that was obviously approaching. Trouble was already brewing and the smashing of Egyptian monuments at Qatna and Ugarit is mute testimony to the justification of Egypt's fears.⁽¹⁾ The rapidly growing concern of the Egyptian kings over the situation in Asia is shown by the substantial increase in the number of cursed localities in the second general proscription. The situation was now beyond Egyptian control though Neferhotep I of the Thirteenth Dynasty was able to bring back a shadow of Egypt's former influence at Byblos. Hence we find the local prince of Byblos reaffirming a loyalty which had fallen into decay.

But the die had been cast and Egypt was unable to take sufficient steps to protect its own borders let alone the commercial interests of the Twelfth Dynasty. The increasing pressure of the Hurrians, the expanding Hittite Old Kingdom and other disruptive factors of the period brought the inevitable southward move of the Hyksos into an Egypt no longer capable of defending itself.

This reconstruction of the Egypto-Asiatic relations at the close of the Middle Kingdom is certainly not the last word to be said on the subject. But I have at least fulfilled the purpose stated at the beginning of this paper, namely, to determine that evidence which is valid for outlining Egyptian foreign relations during this period and to draw tentative conclusions which satisfy the demands of the acceptable evidence. Naturally, my own interpretation of this evidence will not be found conclusive by many who have written on these matters. For example, no matter which of the three primary chronologies presently advocated for western Asia during the first half of the second millennium B.C. is defended, adherents of the other two can find grounds for opposition. Furthermore, the interpretation of the Egyptian Execration Texts and the Twelfth Dynasty royal monuments found in Syria which I have presented here runs contrary to the opinions of reputable historians. Nevertheless, I feel these docu-

(1) This destruction of Egyptian monuments follows naturally if the inhabitants were concerned lest their Egyptian connections be held against them by their new and powerful neighbors. The very fact that these monuments were erected in local temples points to a friendly relationship rather than one based on Egyptian "occupation" of the area.

ments have never been satisfactorily related to the contemporary historical situation and that the proposals I have made here place them in a more realistic perspective. While I do not believe that the whole problem of a Middle Kingdom empire in Asia has been completely settled, it seems to me that the available material is definitely not in favor of such an hypothesis.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was written, I was able to consult Dunand's later publication of his Byblos excavations and, since this does not alter the conclusions I have reached above, I shall offer here only an additional note. ⁽¹⁾ Again, large quantities of scarabs were discovered and, as in the case of the scarabs published previously, this collection dates largely to the Second Intermediate Period with some Thirteenth Dynasty styles (pls. CXCVIII ff.). Most noteworthy is a scarab bearing the name of "The Good God, *Wsh-ib-R'*, a ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty (pl. CC, 6923; a surface find). ⁽²⁾ A shell fragment bearing the cartouche of Sesostris III was also discovered (pl. CXLV, 7490; also a surface find). Some Middle Kingdom statuary adds to the general impression of private Egyptian citizens resident at Byblos during the Middle Kingdom (e.g., pl. CLVII, 11595). This latest publication of the Byblos excavations confirms what I have stated about the Egyptian position at Byblos, hence there is no need to offer here a complete catalogue of the new Egyptian material.

⁽¹⁾ Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II (1933-1938)* (Paris, 1950-58).

⁽²⁾ *Wsh-ib-R'* (Turin Pap. VII, 2) does not appear in the Karnak list though Stock places him fifth in the Sebekhotep group, i.e., approximately 1741/36-1731/26 B. C. (*Studien*, pp. 61-62). There are no large monuments bearing this king's name though his cartouche does appear on a stela, a jar fragment and several scarabs; cf. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pls. VII, 5 and X, 17; Weill, *La fin du moyen empire égyptien*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1918), pp. 469-70.



BRILL

Egypt and the East Mediterranean from Predynastic Times to the End of the Old Kingdom

Author(s): William A. Ward

Source: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (May, 1963), pp. 1-57

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3596325>

Accessed: 03-05-2019 18:28 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Brill is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

EGYPT AND THE EAST MEDITERRANEAN FROM PREDYNASTIC TIMES TO THE END OF THE OLD KINGDOM*)

BY

WILLIAM A. WARD

(Beirut)

The present study is a continuation of my previous investigation of Egyptian relations with the east Mediterranean countries during the early second millenium B.C.¹⁾ While the material bearing on this question is scarce enough for the Middle Kingdom Period, the problem of sources is even more acute for the age under consideration here. It is necessary to depend almost completely on archeological finds which, however useful, can never replace written documents as source material for business and commercial relations. From no period in ancient Egyptian history is there an archive of mercantile records such as we have now come to expect from all corners of western Asia. And even historical records bearing on Egyptian foreign relations during the period covered by this study are at an absolute minimum.

We must therefore make extensive use of the archeological evidence which can be brought to bear on this whole problem of foreign relations. This consists primarily of Egyptian objects found throughout the east Mediterranean world and objects from the east Mediterranean

*) The following abbreviations for works quoted frequently here are used throughout this article. Other abbreviations follow standard practise.

ADAJ = *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*.

Cultures = Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, Vol. 1, Rev. Ed. (London, 1955); Vol. 2 (London, 1960).

FB = Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1937), Vol. 2 (Paris, 1950-58).

Pal. Minos = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, 4 vols. (London, 1921-35).

Byblos = Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte : quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil, 1921-1922-1923-1924* (Paris, 1928).

Relations = Evans, *The Early Nilotic, Libyan and Egyptian Relations with Minoan Crete* (London, 1925).

Rel. Chron. = Ehrlich (ed), *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology* (Chicago, 1954).

1) *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 22-45, 129-55.

countries found in Egypt. An infrequent Egyptian text may preserve a vague piece of information or suggest plausible theories, but, as will be seen in the following pages, the bulk of our material consists of actual objects found outside their native context.

While the purpose of the present study is to draw the broad outline of Egyptian commercial relationships with the various cultures of the east Mediterranean area, a substantial portion must be devoted to a collection and analysis of the evidence which has heretofore been used to establish Egyptian foreign connections. A good deal of this is highly questionable and much must be rejected altogether. It is therefore necessary to examine this evidence in detail for a great deal has been written on the subject which stems from an overly enthusiastic view of Pre- and Protodynastic Egyptian influence outside the Nile Valley. In the present study, as in the previous one, I prefer to err on the side of conservatism, admitting as acceptable evidence only those objects on which no shadow of doubt may be cast.

I. MATERIAL BEARING ON EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH SYRIA-PALESTINE

A. The Predynastic Period

In Predynastic times, Egypt possessed a largely indigenous culture developed within the Nile Valley ¹). For the present purpose, I shall refer to the succession of cultural stages during this period as Badarian, Naqada I and Naqada II, the whole series making up the Chalcolithic Age of Egypt, particularly in the south (that is, below the Fayum), and termed "Predynastic" ²). Predynastic settlements also flourished

1) This conclusion has been seriously questioned by some scholars. While I have reserved an extensive analysis of the question for a subsequent article on Egypto-Mesopotamian relations, this problem is briefly noted on pp. 47-50, below.

2) The Naqada I culture is also known as "Amratian", Naqada II as "Gerzean". The existence of an earlier phase known as the "Tasian" has been, in my opinion, successfully denied by Mrs. Baumgartel, *Cultures* I, pp. 20-21, and the so-called "Semainean" has been satisfactorily laid to rest by Miss Kantor, *JNES* 3 (1944), 110-36. The Semainean, however, still has its defenders—cf. Murray, *JEA* 42 (1956), 95-96—and it should be noted that most students of Egyptian prehistory still admit the possibility of the existence of the Tasian.

in the north (that is, from the Fayum northward) at the Fayum, Merimde, El Omari, Maadi and possibly at Heliopolis¹). By the end of the Predynastic age, the southern culture had spread northward making Egypt a fairly unified cultural complex. Whether or not this cultural unity was accompanied by political unity is still open to question.

Throughout this age of gradual cultural development, lasting perhaps two thousand years²), Egypt began slowly to probe into the deserts bordering the river valley and northward into the world beyond the Isthmus of Suez. A survey expedition into the Wadi Hammamat area and the Lakeita Oasis found Predynastic villages and graves going back as far as the Badarian period³). And it would appear that some kind of connection with Sinai may already have been established in the later Predynastic Period (Naqada II). Sinai was the source for the turquoise used in Egypt and found in small quantities as early as the Badarian Period⁴). The suggestion that the town of Maadi on the eastern fringe of the Delta was founded to be a terminus for Egyptian mining expeditions to the copper deposits of Sinai seems to be quite

1) Debono, *Cd'E* No. 50 (1950), 233-36, dates this site "antérieure aux premières dynasties", and in *ASAE* 52 (1954), 651, he states that "la necropole d'Héliopolis ait précédé immédiatement la Ire dynastie". A date in the First Dynasty is suggested in *Cultures* I, p. 6. This material is admittedly indecisive, consisting only of poorer graves.

2) Approximate dates are all that can be given for this age, even with the help of the Carbon 14 process; for the results of tests run on Egyptian material of this period, cf. Libby, *Radiocarbon Dating* 2d ed. (Chicago, 1955), pp. 77-79. The mean dates for material from the Naqada I Period are ca. 3789 B.C. and 3622 B.C., for the early Naqada II Period, 3664 B.C., and for the late Naqada II Period, 2865 B.C. All these dates have a latitude of three centuries on either side. Scholars are still divided over a low chronology which places the end of the Predynastic Period at ca. 2850 B.C., and a high chronology which places this at ca. 3200 B.C. There are good arguments for both, though none are conclusive. The high chronology still seems preferable to me, though comparative archeological studies now in progress may eventually force a lowering of this date; cf. p. 31, n. 5. Since the Naqada I culture begins ca. 3800 B.C., according to Carbon 14 dating, and we must allow enough time for the preceding cultures in both Upper and Lower Egypt, round figures of 5000-3200 B.C. for the Predynastic Period seem reasonable.

3) Debono, *Cd'E* No. 50 (1950), 238; *ASAE* 51 (1951), 59.

4) Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization* (London, 1928), pp. 27, 41, 56; Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* 3d ed. rev. (London, 1948), pp. 241, 240, n. 3, 460.

without supporting evidence¹). What turquoise and copper came into Egypt during the Protodynastic Period could as well have come from trade as from planned exploitation of Sinai's natural resources. Trade seems to be the much more logical answer since there is now no valid evidence, from Sinai at least, that the Egyptians ever sent expeditions into this area prior to the Third Dynasty (see pp. 9-10, below).

Palestine is void of objects which can be given an Egyptian origin and a definite date²). A copper dagger and two mace-heads found at Fara³) were assigned an Egyptian origin, but there is no proof that this material was imported from Egypt or even influenced by Egyptian models. The dagger has a slight mid-rib, a type which was in use in Egypt in the Naqada II Period, but, beyond this superficial resemblance, nothing indicates this to be an Egyptian weapon. Daggers of this type can be found in the corpus of weapons of any culture.

The mace-heads present a special problem. It has often been assumed that the pear-shaped mace-head originated in Egypt and then spread out over the ancient world. But the chronological and geographical distribution of this type of mace-head would seem to indicate otherwise. Examples have been found in Iran in levels contemporary with the Ubaid of Mesopotamia⁴), in Iraq from the Early Dynastic II-III Periods⁵), in Syria-Palestine⁶), and the Aegean⁷). It is true that

1) *Cultures I*, pp. 42, 44.

2) With the exception of one sherd of Egyptian polished red ware of the Predynastic age found at Lachish; Tufnell, et al., *Lachish IV. The Bronze Age* (Oxford, 1958), p. 274.

3) Macdonald, *Beth Pelet II* (London, 1932), p. 15.

4) Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk I* (Paris, 1938), pl. 85, No. S. 143; McCown and Langsdorff, *Tell-i-Bakum A* (Chicago, 1942), pl. 84, No. 26.

5) I have seen some fine examples of this type of object from Khafajah and Tell Asmar in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, but cannot locate any specific references to them in the published volumes of the Dyala excavations. Other early examples from Iraq are in Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh*, Vol. 1, *Époques présargoniques* (Paris, 1934), pl. 7, fig. 2b, and pl. 8, fig. 1b; Hall, et al., *Ur Excavations*. Vol. 1, *Al-'Ubaid* (Oxford, 1927), p. 51.

6) *FB I*, p. 438, pl. 28; Marquet-Krause, *Les fouilles de 'Ay* (Paris, 1949), pl. 38, No. 104; Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (London, 1940), p. 79; Kenyon, *Jericho I* (Jerusalem, 1960), p. 171, fig. 66, No. 4; Tufnell, et al., *Lachish IV*, p. 71.

7) *Pal. Mimos II*, figs. 3k, 7b; Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca. A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (Cambridge, 1930), No. 24.

the pear-shaped mace-head is found in substantial quantities in Pre- and Protodynastic Egypt¹⁾, but this is no indication that this type of object can be said to have originated in Egypt. The geographical range stretches at least from the Aegean to Iran, the chronological range from ca. 5000 to 2200 B.C. And this weapon is of a common and utilitarian type²⁾. It is possible that this class of object was actually brought into Egypt from outside, but this is a debatable issue and I hesitate to use the pear-shaped mace-head as proof of foreign relations³⁾.

As in all succeeding periods, Egyptian Predynastic objects in Syria are centered at Byblos. At this site were found Egyptian alabaster palettes⁴⁾, two animal figurines⁵⁾, an amulet or palette⁶⁾ and stone vases⁷⁾. A few fragments of stone vessels from Hama may be imports from Egypt⁸⁾, and a stone palette of unknown origin, having a relief of marching figures done in late Predynastic style, turned up in Beirut seventy-five years ago⁹⁾. One suggested Egyptian object, a palette of

1) Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1920), pl. 26; *Cultures II*, pp. 110 ff.

2) Its universally used shape is amply illustrated by reference to any collection of maces used in medieval Europe. The pear-shaped mace-head is quite conspicuous everywhere.

3) A white stone palette found at Gaza has also been assigned an Egyptian origin; Macdonald, *Beth Pelet II*, pl. 28, No. 27. Miss Kantor hesitatingly suggested an Egyptian origin in *JNES I* (1942), 174, but informed me in 1955 that similar palettes had been uncovered at Beer-Sheba. A small stone palette has also been found at Lachish; Tufnell, et al., *Lachish IV*, p. 72. This would indicate that southern Palestine had its own corpus of palettes which may have no relation to Egyptian examples at all.

4) *Byblos*, Nos. 358-59. Egyptian parallels: Brunton, *Qau and Badari I* (London, 1927), pl. 21, No. 31; Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921), pl. 58, No. 91P.

5) A pig (?): *Byblos*, No. 178; cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 7, No. 2. A jackal: *Byblos*, No. 177, too badly damaged for positive identification. Both are probably amulets.

6) *Byblos*, No. 171; cf. Petrie, *Corpus*, pl. 53, No. 23N, Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 43, Nos. 23d and g; Petrie, *Tarkhan II* (London, 1914), pl. 22, No. 10d.

7) Kantor, *JNES I* (1942), 210.

8) Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur le premier campagne des fouilles de Hama* (Copenhagen, 1934), p. 12. The excavator states simply that these fragments were "probably imported from Egypt in the Protodynastic Period".

9) Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes* (London, 1953), pl. C, No. 12. First published

grey steatite "which resembles the common predynastic Egyptian type", was found at Alalakh in one of the earlier levels ¹). Braidwood, however, has shown that Woolley's dates are much too high; the earliest level at Alalakh is instead contemporary to Phases K-L of the Amouq Plain sequence ²). There is thus no chance that this piece could be taken as a genuine import from Predynastic Egypt. The sum total of objects from Syria-Palestine which can be used to study Egyptian foreign relations in this early period is thus quite small. Beyond a few small objects found at Byblos, which themselves could be Protodynastic as well as Predynastic ³), there is hardly anything of Egyptian origin found in datable deposits.

Fortunately, there is a relatively substantial amount of material from Syria-Palestine which has been found in Predynastic Egyptian sites so the picture is not as pessimistic as we might suppose. Numerous finds of Palestinian pottery show a gradually increasing trade with Egypt throughout the Naqada I and II Periods ⁴). However, the

in *Rev. Arch.* 3d ser. 9 (1887), p. 37. Capart believed this to be a genuine Egyptian piece of Predynastic times; *Primitive Art in Egypt*. Transl. by A. S. Griffith (London, 1905), p. 248, fig. 185. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Bebeersing, Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* (Leiden, 1961), pp. 254-55, pl. 104, is of the opinion that this is not Egyptian at all. The provenance is unknown and this palette was purchased at a time when no check could be made on its origin. The palette certainly has every indication of being Egyptian; the human figures in marching order are very much like early Egyptian representations of Libyans. Dating by typological criteria can be dangerous for this early period but it may well be that this palette should be dated to the early First Dynasty rather than Predynastic times.

1) Woolley, *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 12-13, 379, 382; Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 45. Woolley was able to date levels I-VII (I is the highest level) by means of written documents and cylinder seals. Arguments for the chronological scheme below level XIII are unconvincing and he readily admits there are several objections to his dating. The palette was found in level XVI.

2) Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I* (Chicago, 1960), p. 523. Mellaart, however, places Alalakh level XVII contemporary to Amouq I, ca. 2400 B.C.; *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 67.

3) Most of this material was found in foundation deposits in a local temple and was therefore not recovered *in situ*. The rest was found in debris.

4) Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*. 2d ed. rev. (Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 70, 72 ff.; Macdonald, *Beth Pelet II*, p. 15; Kantor, *Rel. Chron.*, p. 5.

analogy between the house models used as ossuaries in Chalcolithic Palestine and Egyptian "Ka-houses" of the First Intermediate Period is certainly invalid¹⁾, and the idea that Egypt donated the plow to western Asia does not seem likely²⁾.

There is already evidence of the import of Syrian timber during the Predynastic Period³⁾, and excavations in the Amouq Plain have yielded more evidences of Syrian exports to Egypt. The relations between this area and Egypt "cluster toward the end of Phase G and persist into Phase H"⁴⁾ and consist of "Syrian bottles", roll and knot-headed pins and a multiple-brush technique for decorating pottery⁵⁾. This material all appears first in Egypt during the Naqada II Period and these connections can be taken as proof of a strengthening contact between late Predynastic Egypt and Syria.

B. The Protodynastic Period

The Protodynastic Period ushers in the historic age of Egypt. This was an era of vibrant change when a new nation was first waking to the possibilities of political union and seeking to discover its own personality. It was an age of experimentation, of broadening horizons

1) *JPOS* 17 (1937), 26 ff. I have found no statement by Albright denying this analogy, though, in other discussions of the Palestinian ossuaries, there is no reference to the Egyptian models; *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2d ed. rev. (New York, 1957), p. 144, *The Archeology of Palestine*, 2d ed, p. 68. The Egyptian "Ka-houses" were not intended to be ossuaries but have been taken to be the temporary dwelling of the soul when it ventured forth from the burial. This explanation does not seem to me to be at all convincing, but this is a religious problem which need not detain us here. The use of ossuaries in the form of houses has been found elsewhere in Palestine; in the Chalcolithic cemetery at Benei Beraq, Ory, *QDAP* 12 (1946), 54-57; in a Chalcolithic cave deposit at Azor, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 47. The Khudeirah ossuaries were originally published by Sukenik, *JPOS* 17 (1937), 15 ff.

2) Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York, 1931), p. 62, suggests the plow was borrowed from Egypt during the Old Kingdom. Hitti, *History of Syria* (New York, 1951), p. 85, says northern Canaan may have received the plow from Babylonia, southern Canaan from Egypt.

3) Brunton, *Qau and Badari I* (London, 1928), pp. 41, 62 ff.

4) Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I*, p. 516. Phase G is contemporary to the Naqada II Period.

5) *Ibid.*, pp. 516 (pottery), 298 (pins), 186-89 (multiple-brush technique).

and amazing cultural development. As if some catalyst had been suddenly thrown into the chemical make-up of the Nile Valley, civilization burst forth in a flurry of excitement that was to be paralleled at no other time in Egypt's history. Writing, monumental architecture, an organized political state and other facets of full civilization appeared as if Egypt had been slumbering and abruptly sprang into the full vigour of youth¹). But the abruptness is only apparent. Most of the "new" features in the Protodynastic Period in reality had at least a minimum development in the late Predynastic age²). Egypt had simply reached a stage of maturity where all the preceding centuries of slow, sometimes plodding, progress could allow the brisk step into history to be taken in a seemingly precipitous fashion³).

Dating the Protodynastic Period—made up of the First and Second Dynasties—is still impossible to do with any precision. The advent of the unification of Egypt, hence the beginning of the First Dynasty, is still dated anywhere between 3400 and 2850 B.C. The end of the period, that is, the beginning of the Third Dynasty, is dated anywhere between 3000 and 2700 B.C. The dates used here will be ca. 3200-2700 B.C. for the first two dynasties of Egyptian history⁴).

1) An admirable essay on this period by the scholar most competent to write it is now available; Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Penguin Books, 1961).

2) The major exceptions are the sudden appearance of buildings constructed in niched-brick architecture and an advanced system of writing. On these, see p. 49, below.

3) For the best statement along these lines, see Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), Chapter Two.

4) The early chronology of the entire east Mediterranean depends rather heavily on that of Egypt. We know from comparative archeological studies that for Syria-Palestine, the following rough correspondances can be verified: Chalcolithic=Badian and Naqada I, Early Bronze I=Naqada II, Early Bronze II-III=Protodynastic Period and Old Kingdom. Likewise, the whole sequence of cultural phases in the Aegean is given approximate dates according to Egyptian material found there. This means that any adjustment in the dating of the Egyptian Protodynastic and Old Kingdom Periods will necessitate a similar adjustment elsewhere. The new Carbon 14 process is proving a valuable help, but, in dealing with material from the third millennium B.C., there is still a range of variability of three to six centuries for any date produced by this method. The dates I have chosen here for the Protodynastic Period seem to me to be the most likely, though they must not be taken as anything more than reasonably approximate, give or take a century or two. For a survey of

It is quite logical that an age of expansion and growth would engage in extensive foreign contacts. The evidence shows that there were indeed more intensified relations with foreign peoples, in contrast to the Predynastic Period, but this material is again scattered and much less abundant than we would like. Nubia was now one goal of Egyptian enterprise. A First Dynasty pottery type has been found as far south as Khartoum ¹⁾. A relief of King Djer of the First Dynasty, portraying a river battle, has been discovered near Buhen ²⁾ and graffiti of Narmer and Djet, both of the First Dynasty, have been located in the desert east of the Nile ³⁾. These and other finds show that at the very dawn of the historical period Egypt realized the significance of the life-line that stretched southward into Nubia and the Sudan ⁴⁾. This was a route Egypt would fight to maintain throughout her long history. Another constant aspect of Egyptian foreign relations close to the Nile Valley was trouble with the Asiatic and Libyan tribes who lived on the eastern and western borders of the Delta. Small ivory tablets from First Dynasty tombs show that Egypt had not only come in contact with these peoples but had engaged in hostilities ⁵⁾.

The extent of Egyptian interests in Sinai during this period is at present uncertain due to the remarkable discovery of a new Third Dynasty pyramid complex at Saqqara belonging to a hitherto unknown king of that age. This is the tomb of Sekhemkhet and the excavator has postulated the theory that the famous relief at Sinai ⁶⁾ heretofore ascribed to Semerkhet of the First Dynasty in reality should be assigned

the various approaches used in dating the early periods of Egyptian history, cf. Charles, *JNES* 16 (1957), 240-53. He concludes, incidentally, that the First Dynasty began ca. 2800 B.C.

1) Arkell, *Early Khartoum* (London, 1949), p. 104, pl. 91, Nos. 1. 3.

2) Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 27 ff.

3) Clère, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 85.

4) For a general survey, cf. Sæve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), pp. 5-8.

5) Petrie, *Royal Tombs II* (London, 1900), pl. 4, Nos. 3-4; Albright, *JPOS* 2 (1922), 118; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 74.

6) Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2d ed. rev. (London, 1952), pl. 1, No. 1a.

to this new king of the Third ¹⁾. The crucial hieroglyphs in the names of both kings are quite similar and the Sinai relief has been somewhat battered by time so the inscription is badly worn. Whether this new identification will stand remains to be seen.

The presence of copper and turquoise in Protodynastic Egypt is enough to prove that Sinai was in the range of Egyptian contacts. The problem becomes acute only when we attempt to determine whether these materials came to Egypt by trade or by Egyptian exploitation of the mines. Up to the present time, the only proof of Egyptian exploitation has been the above-mentioned relief. This and the ivory tablets from First Dynasty tombs showing bound prisoners have been taken as evidence that regular mining expeditions were sent to Sinai in the Protodynastic Period and that the hostile tribes living between Egypt and Sinai were pacified by military force. However, if we remove the Sinai relief from the horizon of the First Dynasty and admit that the pictorial records of struggles with desert tribes could have been localized on the fringes of the Delta, the idea of organized expeditions marching to Sinai to exploit its natural resources is no longer supported by adequate proof.

Should direct exploitation by Egyptian mining expeditions be an untenable, or at least an unsubstantiated, theory, there remains the alternative of trade relations. Turquoise was not used in such amounts during the Protodynastic Period that it could not have been brought into Egypt through normal channels of trade by itinerant merchants. Copper, on the other hand, was widely used for tools and weapons, among other objects, and there is a considerable amount of copper known from Protodynastic deposits in spite of the fact that most of these have been robbed in antiquity. This would still not obviate trade as the channel by which this metal reached Egypt. We need only recall the imports of copper from overseas into southern Mesopotamia ²⁾

1) Goneim, *The Buried Pyramid* (London, 1956), pp. 92-95. Godron, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 145; Lauer, *BSFE* No. 18, pp. 28-29. New kings keep appearing from time to time, for example, Snetkerka of the First Dynasty; Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty III* (London, 1958), p. 31.

2) Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden, 1960), chap. II.

and the tremendous amount of trade in metals carried on between Assyria and Anatolia in the early second millennium B.C.—and in much greater amounts—to realize that such was quite possible for Protodynastic Egypt.

Looking beyond Sinai into Palestine, we are immediately thrust into a problem of major importance for Egyptian foreign connections. This is the supposed invasion by King Narmer, the probable founder of the First Dynasty¹), of southern Palestine. In the broadest interpretation, it has been stated that during the Palestinian late Early Bronze II Period, "Palestine and Phoenicia were exposed to strong Egyptian influence, and the powerful kings of the Thinite period seem to have extended their empire into Asia"²). Aside from a few isolated Egyptian objects in Syria-Palestine and some Syro-Palestinian pottery in Egypt—all of which can be explained as the normal result of trade (see below)—this Thinite "empire" is based only on two pieces of evidence.

The first is Yadin's ingenious explanation of a hieroglyphic sign in the lower register on the reverse of the Narmer palette³). This scene consists solely of two naked and bearded figures in a prostrate position with a single sign over each. The sign over the left-hand figure is a ramparted fortress. The sign over the right-hand figure—a loop at the top with two gradually separating streamers flowing down—is also considered by Yadin to be an enclosure of some sort. In Jordan, scattered over a wide area east and northeast of Amman, there are stone constructions in exactly this form. Yadin therefore suggests that the sign on the Narmer palette represents one of these stone structures—they are termed "kites"—and concludes that Narmer actually

1) One of the great problems of Egyptology has been the identity of the king who first united Egypt. Scholars are divided on the issue, though the position taken here—that it was Narmer and that he was the founder of the First Dynasty—seems to me to be the most acceptable. For general discussions, see Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3d ed. rev. (Paris, 1952), p. 161; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 403 ff.

2) Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, 2d ed., p. 74.

3) Yadin, *IEJ* 5 (1955), 1-16.

made a military campaign into this area and subjugated the local inhabitants.

As reasonable as all this sounds, there are certain difficulties which make it an impossible theory. In the first place, Yadin assumes that the lower register on the reverse of the Narmer palette must be separated from the general subject matter of the rest of the tablet which depicts various elements in the unification of Egypt. This, he does on the grounds that the scene in question cannot be explained within the framework of the unification of Egypt and that it is separated by a narrow horizontal space from the scene above it. The latter point is not valid since individual scenes portraying parts of the same general theme in Protodynastic documents are often separated from each other by some means ¹⁾. The two figures of this scene bear a striking resemblance to other foreigners portrayed on First Dynasty monuments ²⁾. Finally, the sign in question is probably that found on other Protodynastic monuments ³⁾. What is quite obviously portrayed in this particular scene is the subjugation of tribes which infested the deserts bordering Egypt. Taken thus, the lower register of the reverse is very much a part of the total composition of the Narmer palette.

Another difficulty which stands in the way of connecting the sign on the Narmer palette with the "kites" of Jordan is chronological. According to Yadin's own statement, no one who has studied these structures is able to date them any more closely than "pre-Roman" or "pre-Safaitic", nor is it positive that they are fortresses at all. Yet Yadin unhesitatingly dates them to the end of the fourth millennium B.C. ⁴⁾. It is therefore far from proven on the basis of the sign on the

1) Protodynastic mace-heads from Hierakonpolis and many of the larger ivory tablets from the First Dynasty are divided into separate sections even though the individual scenes thus formed are part of the total composition.

2) Cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II* (London, 1901), pl. 12, No. 13. There is also a close similarity to the figures on the "Predynastic" palette from Beirut (see p. 5, n. 9, above).

3) Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. 13, No. 2.

4) Yadin, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Yadin concludes his article by suggesting that the scene on the obverse of the Narmer palette may represent an invasion of Mesopotamia. For this there is even less to say than for the supposed Palestinian venture.

Narmer palette that there was an Egyptian military campaign into southern Palestine at the very beginning of the First Dynasty.

There is another find which has been taken as support for Yadin's proposal. In 1957, excavations at Tell esh-Sheikh in south Palestine yielded an interesting, and vital, piece of evidence regarding early Egyptian relations with western Asia ¹). A group of pottery was found in level V with no parallels anywhere else in Palestine, though it has some affinities with Predynastic and early Protodynastic Egyptian types. This pottery was not found in either level IV or VI. The rest of level V shows an assemblage which indicates a continuation with the levels below and above it—only this pottery is intrusive into the local cultural complex. But the most remarkable discovery was a graffito which gives the name of King Narmer, incised on one of these sherds. Yeivin recalls Yadin's theory of Narmer's invasion and concludes that here is further proof of short-lived domination of southern Palestine under Narmer ²).

Now one of the most frequent errors in attempting to reconstruct foreign relations on the basis of archeological evidence is the assumption that the appearance of foreign objects inscribed with royal names or those of high officials automatically implies foreign domination, invasion or military occupation. Such an assumption cannot be made without corroborative evidence since there are many reasons for the appearance of foreign objects with royal names other than those which go with building an empire. For example, the Fifth Dynasty material in the Aegean area—two royal inscriptions (see below, pp. 32-36)—in no way implies invasion or domination. Nor does the name of the Hyksos king Khayan found in Crete and Anatolia as well as Baghdad suggest a Hyksos world empire for the seventeenth century B.C. ³), though this has actually been suggested: "The principle rulers of the

1) The preliminary report of the excavation is by Yeivin, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 193-203.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 203.

3) Alabastron-lid from Knossos: *Pal. Minos* I, p. 280, fig. 220; obsidian vase fragment from Boghazkoi: Beran, *Anat. St.* 11 (1961), 17. Khayan's name has also been found on a stone lion from Baghdad: Deveira, *Rev. Arch. N.S.* 4 (1861), 256-57.

Fifteenth Dynasty, Apophis I and Khayana, flourished in the 17th century; in the second half of the century the latter built up an ephemeral empire, the extent of which may be guessed by monuments of his which have turned up in places as far removed as Babylonia and Crete¹⁾. On the basis of such a statement we would have to assume that the Hyksos Khayan ruled the ancient world from Crete to Iraq and from Anatolia to the Sudan, for such is the geographical distribution of objects bearing his name. But the Hyksos were not able to rule all of Egypt, let alone a vast territory like that²⁾. I must insist again³⁾ that the presence of foreign objects, even objects bearing names of foreign rulers, does not constitute proof of foreign domination, provincial administration within an empire or even an invasion⁴⁾.

It is in this light that we must consider the graffito of Narmer found at Tell esh-Sheikh. The archeological situation certainly does not indicate any foreign invasion. By the excavator's own statement, the site shows a continuous development throughout levels VI, V and IV. Right in the midst of this, in level V, come Egyptian pottery types, one sherd of which bears the name of King Narmer. This Egyptian material consists only of pottery and is intrusive in the local cultural complex. But there is nothing in an intrusive pottery group to warrant the assumption of an "empire" or even an Egyptian invasion of south Palestine. In this connection it is worth while recalling a similar find made fifty years ago. Egyptian Protodynastic pottery was discovered at el Beda in the Isthmus of Suez and one large jar bore an incised serekh with double Horus-birds. No royal name can be determined but one was obviously intended⁵⁾.

What this material rather indicates is one of two things; either the direct import of Egyptian pottery or the migration of the potter

1) Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 202.

2) Sève-Söderbergh, *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71, gives the most balanced examination of the Hyksos age to date.

3) Cf. Ward, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 132.

4) Cf. also the find of a tablet of an Eshnunna king on Cythera (Aegean), mentioned on p. 33.

5) Clédât, *ASAE* 13 (1913), 115-21.

himself. The fluid "middle class" of artisans and merchants which moved from place to place has already been well established for the early second millennium B.C.¹⁾ I see no reason why artisans could not have moved from place to place in the early third millennium as well. The evidence is admittedly scarce for this early age, but it is much more likely that the el Beda and Tell esh-Sheikh finds represent itinerant craftsmen than a full-scale invasion. This would account for the sudden appearance of Egyptian pottery in a south Palestinian town and its just as sudden disuse. There are analogies elsewhere; Cypriote pottery suddenly appears in the early Chalcolithic level of Ras Shamra (see below, p. 40). Note also that by the early third millennium B.C. international trade was being carried on in surprising volume; this is discussed more fully in the summary to this paper. I would note in passing that the practise of placing royal names on pottery is rather widespread in Protodynastic Egypt²⁾.

It is worth while to point out that so far nothing from the reign of Narmer has been found in the royal cemetery of the First Dynasty at Saqqara. "The absence of all trace of Narmer is perhaps because the consolidation of his conquests did not extend as far north as the apex of the Delta and Memphis was yet to be founded"³⁾. The historical situation of the First Dynasty is still so obscure that we can reconstruct very little actual history. That the First Dynasty must have been a period of considerable wealth and power is amply shown by the series of great tombs which have been coming to light at Saqqara. Whether Narmer's tomb or some other remnant of his rule still lies buried here remains to be seen. But in the light of our present knowledge, which is considerable owing to Emery's excavations, it does appear that Narmer did not actually rule the whole Nile Valley. Should this prove

1) Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Gordon, in Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to Hettie Goldman* (Locust Valley, 1956), pp. 136-43.

2) Cf., for example, Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. 55; II, pls. 44-46. It may be argued that these examples are taken from royal tombs where we should expect to find royal names, but this hardly explains the examples from el Beda and Tell esh-Sheikh. Until more material is available, it would be unwise to draw conclusions.

3) Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty III*, p. 4.

to be the case, a military expedition into Palestine would seem unlikely. This would not, however, rule out the possibilities of trade or mobile craftsmen.

The supposed invasion of western Asia by Narmer is thus based on evidence which, at best, is highly questionable. Neither the Narmer palette nor the graffiti on Egyptian pottery can possibly be construed as marking an Egyptian military venture into Palestine. The pottery is instead solid evidence for trade relations or itinerant craftsmen, the latter, in my opinion, being the more likely. We can now turn our attention—after this long but necessary digression—to the rest of Egyptian Protodynastic material in Syria-Palestine.

Albright suggested long ago that the "typical shallow bowl and inverted rim found all over Palestine in the Early Bronze Age was probably originally imitated in clay from imported Egyptian stone vases of similar shape" ¹). This is a tenuous identification though such a prototype does exist in Egyptian Protodynastic and Third Dynasty contexts ²). Egyptian stone vessels found at Ai in an Early Bronze context have excellent parallels in the first three dynasties ³). There is some material from the earlier Jericho excavations, though this is not above question. A slate palette fragment was found in an Early Bronze I context ⁴), and an alabaster mace-head, supposedly of Egyptian

1) *JPOS* 15 (1935), 210. Found especially at Megiddo (stage IV) and Beth-Shan (level XIV).

2) For the pottery, cf. Engberg and Shipton, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1934), chart at end, first and second columns opposite "stage IV"; for the proposed Egyptian prototype, cf. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), fig. 41, No. 11, and Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 51, No. T182. Note that the Egyptian stone vessels have sloping sides while the Palestinian pottery has straight sides.

3) Albright, *JPOS* 15 (1935), 209; *BASOR* Feb. 1935, p. 28; Marquet-Krause, *Les fouilles de 'Ay*, p. 19, pl. 75. Ai vessel No. 1489=Petrie, *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases* (London, 1937), pl. 19, No. 295; Ai No. 1491=*ibid.*, pl. 17, No. 220 and pl. 18, No. 248; Ai No. 1492=Reisner, *Mycerinus*, fig. 35, No. 10; etc. In the case of the stone cylinder jars from Ai, the resemblance is not so clear and exact parallels are not forthcoming. Few of these vessels have the usual Egyptian treatment of the rim.

4) Garstang, *LAAA* 23 (1936), pl. 36, No. 26. A possible parallel is Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. 24, No. 98 f., though this is not an exact duplicate.

origin, was found nearby¹). A spouted-pot pottery type may show some connections with Egypt though, here again, we cannot accept the material without reservation²). Finally, there is a cylinder seal bearing an inscription in Egyptian which is very clearly of Protodynastic style. Every hieroglyph can be exactly paralleled in Egyptian inscriptions of this age³). Unfortunately, the find-spot is uncertain and details as to its discovery were lost years ago⁴). Egypto-Palestinian relations are assured, however, by the appearance of characteristic Early Bronze II pottery in the Egyptian royal tombs at Abydos, a type found at Fara, Megiddo, Jericho and other sites⁵).

The excavations at Lachish have produced a small fragment of diorite of a kind used only in the Protodynastic Period and early Third Dynasty. On this fragment are lightly scratched lines which are "part of a long side of a rectangle which was probably the edge of a cartouche"⁶). This object was unstratified, but the material would certainly point to an Egyptian Protodynastic origin. The lines, by the way, would represent a *serekh* rather than a cartouche.

Certain obscure references in Second Dynasty inscriptions have been taken to indicate military action in Palestine. On a sealing of King Sekhemib-Perenmaat appears the epithet *inw ḥ3s.t* which was taken to

1) Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), p. xiii, though mace-heads probably cannot be used as proof of foreign relations (see pp. 4-5, above).

2) Garstang, *op. cit.*, pl. 37, Nos. 1-4; cf. Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, pl. 16, Nos. 99W 2, 3, 5.

3) Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. S-1, p. 223, pl. 26; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (London, 1917), pl. 4, No. 87.

4) For the evidence to be drawn from seal-cylinders in general, cf. Leemans, *JESHO* 3 (1960), 22, and *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, pp. 138 ff.

5) Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 59, 70; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, p. 10; Albright, *Archeology of Palestine*, 2d ed., p. 74. Prausnitz, *PEFQ* 1954, 91-96, gives a detailed discussion of Palestinian pattern-combed ware imported into Egypt from the latter part of the First Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. Note also a possible connection between the deep open bowls from Lachish and Egyptian Protodynastic basins of similar type; Tufnell, et al., *Lachish IV*, p. 147. Cf. also Dothan, *PEFQ* 1953, 130-37.

6) Tufnell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

mean "Conqueror of Foreign Countries". And on sealings of Peribsen of the same dynasty, the epithet *imw Sṯ.t* is found which was taken to mean "Conqueror (?) of Palestine (?)"¹) From these references it was suggested that military activity was possibly carried on in western Asia by Second Dynasty rulers. In reality, both royal names are of one ruler, Peribsen²), and the epithets applied to this king cannot be taken as evidence of an Asiatic campaign. The term *ḥ3s.t* applies originally to the mountainous terrain bordering the Nile Valley and *Sṯ.t* probably refers to the island of Sehel at the first cataract rather than Asia³). These early records thus refer to connections with Nubia and the deserts and not Palestine.

The only Egyptian Protodynastic material so far known from Syria is from Byblos. This consists mainly of small objects; a gold bead⁴), a bird figurine⁵), two playing pieces⁶) and a small ape statuette⁷). There is also a stone vase with Egyptian parallels in the Protodynastic Period⁸) and a stone vase fragment bearing the name of King Khasekhemui of the Second Dynasty⁹). All of these objects, with the exception of the last, were found in later temple foundation deposits, the inscribed piece in a rubbish-heap. There is therefore no way of knowing for sure if this material was transported to Byblos during the Protodynastic Period or if it came later¹⁰). I am inclined to the conclusion that these

1) Gunn, *ASAE* 28 (1928), 160; Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos I* (London, 1914), pl. 10; Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 22.

2) Grdseloff, *ASAE* 44 (1944), 245.

3) Godron, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 151 ff.

4) *Byblos*, No. 256; cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 1, No. 3, for an exact duplicate.

5) *Byblos*, No. 170; cf. *Ancient Egypt* 1915, p. 3, fig. 8.

6) *Byblos*, Nos. 333-34; cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 45, No. 46, and Quibbell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. 20, No. 14.

8) *Byblos*, No. 176.

7) *Byblos*, No. 80; cf. Petrie, *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases* pl. 3, No. 66, and pl. 24, No. 415.

9) *FB I*, No. 1115; a *serekh* surmounted by the Seth-animal and Horus-falcon, containing the king's name. Similar sealings have been found at Abydos; Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pls. 23-24.

10) As usual with Egyptian finds at Byblos, there is no question of attempting to date the spot where they were found unless this happens to be a foundation deposit, tomb, or the like.

objects actually were brought to Byblos during the first two dynasties since, on the basis of Syrian material found in Protodynastic Egyptian contexts, we can establish a trade connection between the two areas at this time. Then too, one can hardly imagine crude animal figurines which are obviously Protodynastic in date being sent off to Byblos after the advent of the Old Kingdom when much finer artistic products were available. These objects were perhaps items of trade in Protodynastic times, eventually finding their way into foundation deposits of the structure Montet terms "le temple Syrien".

Syrian timber has been found in First Dynasty tombs at Abydos¹⁾ and pottery types of Syrian origin now appear in Egypt. These are, notably, a pottery flask of north Syrian style²⁾ and a type painted with geometric figures over a cream slip, originating in south Syria during the Early Bronze II age³⁾. There is thus solid proof for trade connections between Syria and Egypt for this period.

C. The Old Kingdom

When we reach the Old Kingdom (Third to Sixth Dynasties, ca. 2700 to 2200 B.C.), material bearing on foreign contacts is greatly increased. The exploitation of the deserts and Nubia was carried forward under royal banners. By the mid-Sixth Dynasty, Egyptian trading expeditions had opened the trading-post at Kerma, below the

1) Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, *passim*. Though not so stated, the large wooden beams and planks used for roofing and flooring the subterranean chambers of First Dynasty tombs at Saqqara must also have had a Syrian origin; Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II (London, 1954), and III, *passim*.

2) A particularly common type found in First Dynasty tombs at Saqqara is a flask or flagon with loop handles at the shoulders, a single handle joining shoulders and rim, or no handles at all; Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* II, p. 75; III, pp. 18, 54-55, 106 (type G). This type is of Syrian origin, though for some unexplained reason, two flasks are labelled "Aegean"; *ibid.*, p. 75, Nos. G9 and G11. Emery gives this whole style a Syrian origin in *Archaic Egypt*, p. 204.

3) Kantor, *Rel. Chron.*, pp. 8-9. For a general discussion of the Asiatic pottery in Egypt during Protodynastic times and the Old Kingdom, cf. Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II. The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 64-65, 75-76.

third cataract¹), and Nubia was firmly in control of Egyptian military forces in spite of local opposition to Egyptian penetration of the area²). This exploitation of Nubia for both natural resources and control of the vital southern trade route was already under way in the Fourth Dynasty³). The Sinai mines were worked throughout this period, though only a score of inscriptions are known dating from the whole Old Kingdom⁴). This is a surprisingly small number of inscriptions for a period lasting five centuries. This is not an adequate criterion for judging the concentration of Egyptian interests during the Old Kingdom, but it indicates that Egyptian activity here was far from being a flurry of excitement.

Connections with Syria-Palestine now take on a more substantial character than in the preceding periods, as we should expect, though relations between this area and Egypt during the Third Dynasty are still quite slim. It has been suggested that an early tomb at Taanech, dating around 2500 B.C., has architectural features borrowed from Third Dynasty Egypt. Several limestone beams form the roof of the main chamber and this has been compared with similar beams used to roof subterranean chambers in Djoser's step pyramid complex at Saqqara⁵). While the use of such stone beams does not appear elsewhere in early Palestine, the same is true of Egypt⁶) and the analogy

1) Fragments bearing the names of Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II were discovered here; Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), pp. 507 ff.

2) A general discussion in Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 8-36.

3) Weigall, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 171; Engelbach, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 70.

4) Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, Nos. 1-22. For the inscription usually attributed to Semerkhet of the First Dynasty but which may now have to be placed in the Third, cf. p. 9.

5) Albright *BASOR* 94 (1944), 15, *Archeology of Palestine*, 2d ed., p. 76, and *Rel. Chron.*, p. 31. The plans of this tomb are given in Sellin, *Tell Ta'anek* (Vienna, 1904), figs. 35-36. The other comparison made by Albright—the slanting sides of the doorways in the Taanach tomb with the sloping sides of an Egyptian mastaba tomb—seems to me to be without any foundation.

6) I find nothing to substantiate Albright's statement that "Roofing with stone beams becomes extremely common in Egypt at this time"; *BASOR* 94 (1944), p. 15, n. 10. Roofing with rough stone slabs does appear from the First Dynasty on and becomes more common in the Third Dynasty, but this is a far different matter than

seems hard-pressed. The use of stone beams to cover an underground chamber is, after all, not such an abnormal architectural feature that it could not have been used independently by two unrelated civilizations. Until more corroborative evidence is forthcoming, it is best to treat this particular connection with some skepticism.

The only Egyptian objects in Syria-Palestine which can be assigned a date in the Third Dynasty are stone bowls from Byblos ¹). Another connection with the North during the Third Dynasty is the wood from a coffin found at Djoser's step pyramid site. This coffin is made up of at least four kinds of wood, only one of which is native to Egypt; the rest come from Syria ²).

An inscribed stone offering-plate fragment from Byblos, previously dated to the Third Dynasty, actually dates at least to the early Fourth Dynasty ³). The inscription records the name and titles of an official who appears to have been in charge of royal scribes, though this official has heretofore been called a Scribe of the Royal Carpenters through a misunderstanding of his titles. These titles are somewhat obscure but are found on monuments of the Third to Sixth Dynasties ⁴).

Other Fourth Dynasty material in Syria-Palestine consists of some small objects and vase fragments from Byblos. A monkey-vase has

dressed stone beams. Roofing with wooden beams was the standard practise in the First Dynasty royal tombs where huge dressed beams were used; Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* II and III, *passim*.

1) *FB I*, No. 1830. An almost exact duplicate is Reisner, *Mycerinus*, fig. 40, No. 4 (Dyn. III). A close parallel is from the Second Dynasty; *ibid.* fig. 34, No. 15. This type of vessel was manufactured throughout the Old Kingdom but the closest analogy is from the Third Dynasty. Note also a broad-shouldered bowl of diorite with roll rim, flat bottom and unpierced handles (*FB II*, No. 12057) which can be compared with Reisner, *Mycerinus*, fig. 38, No. 3 (Dyn. III). This type originated in the Predynastic Period, but unpierced handles apparently come in the Third Dynasty (*ibid.*, p. 164).

2) Lucas, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 1-4. The three Syrian woods are cypress, pine and cedar (or juniper).

3) *FB I*, No. 5366; Montet, *Kemi I* (1928), 84-85.

4) I am now preparing a study of this inscription to be published elsewhere. The owner of this object seems to have been in charge of royal scribes resident at Byblos. These would have been necessary to the Egyptian mercantile community there.

been dated to the reign of Khufu, though only part of the last sign in the cartouche is visible and this piece could just as well belong in the Fifth Dynasty ¹⁾. There are also an alabaster vase fragment with a damaged *serekh* containing the name of Khufu ²⁾ and another vase fragment bearing the end of the name of Queen Merytyetes, the wife of Khufu ³⁾. Four alabaster fragments have been taken to be inscribed with the name of Menkaure; only one of these is certain ⁴⁾. A cup fragment ⁵⁾ and two vase fragments ⁶⁾ show only portions of what could be the name of this king.

Trade with Syria is already mentioned in the royal annals of the Old Kingdom—the so-called Palermo Stone. This is a compilation of important events and fiscal notations and notes a sea expedition to Syria and the “bringing of 40 ships filled (with) cedar wood” ⁷⁾ in the reign of Snefru at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. This indicates that the trade in Syrian timber was by sea and not the land route through Palestine. The transport of lumber by ship would naturally be the more convenient method and the most practical one. There are well-dated examples of Asiatic pottery from Fourth Dynasty tombs as there are for tombs of the Fifth and Sixth, so this feature of trade with Syria-Palestine need not be mentioned again ⁸⁾.

Fifth Dynasty material in Syria-Palestine again centers at Byblos.

1) *Byblos*, No. 58. This type of monkey-vase was used throughout the Protodynastic and Old Kingdom Periods.

2) Montet, *Kemi* I (1928), 85; *FB* I, No. 4506. While the Horus name of this king is not Khufu and there are no other examples of this name in a *serekh*, the practise of writing a king's personal name in a *serekh* was used elsewhere in the Old Kingdom. Montet, *loc. cit.*, points out that Khafre's personal name appears in a *serekh*; a possible example of Neferirkare comes from Byblos (cf. p. 23, n. 1, below); the personal name of Snefru in a *serekh* is published by Fakhry, *ASAE* 52 (1954), p. 586, fig. 7, pl. 13.

3) *Byblos*, No. 64. For other inscriptions mentioning this queen and a general discussion of her importance, cf. Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), 124-25; Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, pp. 6 ff.

4) *FB* II, No. 11327.

5) *Byblos*, No. 45.

6) *FB* I, Nos. 1794 and 5120.

7) Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906), I, sect. 146.

8) See p. 19, n. 3.

An alabaster vase fragment preserves what may be the traces of two signs of the name of King Neferirkare, the third king of this dynasty ¹⁾. Another fragment bears the full name of Djedkare ²⁾ and there are several fragments bearing the name of Unis ³⁾, as well as a complete vase with this king's name ⁴⁾. From Egypt comes a seal impression of three animals with their tails curved upward over their bodies, a motive which is a widely distributed Asiatic type ⁵⁾. Palestinian expeditions are recorded in the funerary monuments of Sahure and Neuserre and both Syrian and Palestinian products are shown as booty ⁶⁾.

The inscribed material from Byblos dating to the Sixth Dynasty is much more abundant. As before, this consists primarily of complete stone vessels or fragments inscribed with royal names and titles. Two fragments preserve what is probably the name of Teti, the first king of the dynasty ⁷⁾. The reign of Pepi I is represented by several fragments of stone ⁸⁾ and a fine, complete vase of alabaster ⁹⁾. The near-complete Horus name of Merenre has been found on one fragment ¹⁰⁾. Fragments of two monkey statuettes and one complete exam-

1) *FB I*, No. 4909. Only the fingers of one *k3*-sign and the top of the reed-leaf remain. There is also a Horus hawk wearing the double crown which appears to be standing on a crude *serekh*. This inscription probably preserves the Nomen of Neferirkare which is Kakai. For the personal name of a king in a *serekh*, see p. 22, n. 2.

2) Nelson, *Berytus I* (1934), pl. 3, No. 1. This and several other Old Kingdom fragments published by Nelson were acquired by purchase after the first world war and are presumed to be from Byblos.

3) *FB I*, Nos. 3867, 3980, 4029.

4) *Byblos*, No. 46; a close parallel in Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV* (Cairo, 1943), pl. 30, No. B.

5) Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-beres*, p. 75.

6) Cf. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 3. Albright, *JPOS* 15 (1935), 211, suggests parallels from Megiddo for the tall, long-necked vessels with handles. Syrian bears also appear in this relief as well as captives, apparently brought back as slaves (pl. 5). For the suggestion that this was not a military venture at all but rather a friendly journey to bring back a Syrian princess for the king's harem, cf. Drioton and Vandier (after Montet), *L'Egypte*, pp. 173-74.

7) *FB I*, No. 3753; Montet, *Kemi I* (1928), 87; Nelson, *Berytus I* (1934), 20.

8) *FB I*, Nos. 4149, 6496; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3, 6-8; *Byblos*, Nos. 47-51.

9) *FB I*, No. 4366, with the full titulary of Pepi I. For parallel, cf. Petrie, *Funeral Furniture and Stone Vases*, pl. 2, No. 33.

10) *FB I*, No. 1940.

ple ¹⁾, an alabaster jar lid ²⁾ and several vase fragments ³⁾ bear the name of Pepi II. There are also several inscribed fragments bearing the name of either Pepi I or II ⁴⁾.

Besides this datable material, there are certain other objects which can be placed in the Old Kingdom but cannot be dated more explicitly than this. The "Egyptian temple" at Byblos—termed thus because of the Egyptian statue fragments and reliefs found there—was no doubt a temple built to serve the Old Kingdom Egyptian colony there ⁵⁾. A small stone cylinder bearing a strange hieroglyphic text is dated to the Old Kingdom since it contains the Old Kingdom spelling of the

1) *Byblos*, Nos. 56-57, 62.

2) *FB I*, No. 3800.

3) *FB I*, Nos. 1927, 2874.

4) *FB I*, Nos. 1113, 2865, 3530, 2792; *FB II*, No. 17540, found in the same area with several fragments, some of which bear hieroglyphs in Old Kingdom style.

5) For description, cf. *Byblos*, pp. 29 ff. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, p. 82, suggests this temple was to serve a resident Egyptian mercantile community, with which I agree completely. Albright, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 62, dates this temple to the Fifth Dynasty, but it could have been built at any time during the Old Kingdom, probably the Fourth Dynasty. For the scenes on the relief fragments, cf. *Byblos*, No. 12, which is exactly paralleled in Jequier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*. Vol. 2 (Cairo, 1938), pls. 8, 12; *Byblos*, No. 11, shows two similar scenes, a king presenting ointment jars to Hathor.

Though Montet cautiously suggests that these reliefs may have political overtones in that an Egyptian king is supposed to be worshipping local Syrian deities, this does not have to be the case (*Byblos*, p. 273). In both reliefs it is plainly the goddess Hathor who is represented; I cannot agree that in the double scene a Syrian god and goddess are shown. But do these have to portray a Syrian deity at all? The crux of the matter is the epithet "Lady of Byblos" applied to Hathor in these and other inscriptions. But Hathor is found in this same role in numerous other places and is usually associated with Egyptian colonies—temporary or permanent—in foreign countries. For example:

(1) as a deity at the diorite quarries in the western Nubian desert dating from the Old Kingdom on; Engelbach, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 72.

(2) as "Lady of 'Ibîk" in the small temple at Abu Simbel, 'Ibîk being the name of this locality; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 202.

(3) as "Lady of Mefkat" which is probably the name of the locality in which the Sinai mines are found; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2d ed., *passim*.

It may well be that Hathor was considered the patron deity of Egyptians residing outside the Nile Valley. There is nothing which forces us to assume that Hathor was being identified with some local goddess. For Hathor as "Lady of X" within Egypt proper, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, p. 318, *sub* Hathor.

name of Byblos ¹⁾. There is also a series of stone vases, including many which have exact parallels in Egypt ²⁾. One interesting stone vase stand is covered with a series of offering-bearers which can be paralleled on other Old Kingdom monuments ³⁾. From the mouth of the Adonis River in Lebanon comes an axe-head of a royal boat crew dating to the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty ⁴⁾.

There is some material from Palestine which has been dated to the Old Kingdom but none of it is acceptable. A stone head found in Jerusalem is of a general style used in all periods, hence cannot be specifically dated, though it has been placed in the Old Kingdom ⁵⁾. Some material from Gaza was dated to the Old Kingdom but the deposits in which this was found are of Middle Kingdom date ⁶⁾. A string of beads showing Egyptian analogies ⁷⁾ and two inscribed

1) *Byblos*, No. 42. Montet gives a different interpretation of this inscription in *Le drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1941), p. 25.

2) Cylinder vases: *Byblos*, Nos. 74-75, 82, 84; bowl with high shoulder, roll rim and unpierced handles: *Byblos*, No. 78; collar jars: *Byblos*, Nos. 96-102, 109. A selection of parallels: *Byblos*, No. 74=Reisner, *Mycerinus*, fig. 37, No. 10; *Byblos*, No. 78=*Mycerinus*, fig. 38, No. 3; *Byblos*, No. 82—Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7E; *Byblos*, No. 109=*Mycerinus*, fig. 44, No. 13. All other vessels in this group have exact parallels in Egypt.

3) *FB II*, No. 7551; cf. Jequier, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 141-42, pl. 1, for similar figures.

4) Rowe, *Catalogue*, p. 283. The axe-head has excellent parallels: Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (London, 1917), pl. 2, No. 55; Petrie, *Labun I* (London, 1920), pl. 47, Nos. 14-15.

5) According to Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VII*, p. 375, this is an Old Kingdom piece. Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 291, rightly does not attempt to give any date at all.

6) Albright, *JAOS* 52 (1933), 287, notes that Petrie's "Copper Age" at Gaza must be placed rather "about the twentieth century B.C." Miss Kenyon, *ADAJ* 3 (1956), 41 ff., now dates Petrie's "Copper Age" at Gaza to her newly-determined "Intermediate Early Bronze—Middle Bronze Age", covering the period ca. 2100-1900 B.C.

7) *Petrie Gaza I* (London, 1931), pp. 3-4, of carnelian. A careful check of the pottery with which these beads were found shows a Middle Bronze I Period date. For Egyptian analogies roughly contemporary, cf. Petrie, *Labun II* (London, 1923), pl. 63, No. B2, and Petrie, *Harageh* (London, 1924), pl. 52, No. 73P. It is this find and its mis-dating that probably gave rise to Olmstead's remark that enamelled beads were imported into Palestine from Egypt in the mid-third millennium B.C.; *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 63.

fragments¹⁾ must certainly come from the early Middle Kingdom period. Finally, a stela from Shihan in Moab with the figure of a warrior thrusting a spear has been considered an example of Egyptian influence in east Jordan²⁾. I am more favorably inclined, however, toward Miss Tufnell's analysis of this sculpture in which she finds Mesopotamian, not Egyptian, influence³⁾.

Evidence from Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs on relations with Asia during the Old Kingdom is scanty, but positive. Campaigns in Syria-Palestine were carried out in the Fifth Dynasty under Sahure and Neuserre⁴⁾. One Sixth Dynasty noble tells of a campaign into Palestine in the reign of Pepi I⁵⁾ and another Sixth Dynasty official has left the pictorial record of the siege of the Palestinian town of Nedia⁶⁾. By far the most tantalizing inscription, as far as commercial connections are concerned, is the short text from the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Khui at Aswan⁷⁾. This records the visit of three high officials to Byblos and Punt. The trio was led by the "Leiter des Speisezeltes" Khnumhotep⁸⁾ who was accompanied by two companions both bearing the title "God's Treasurer". We should note that the second-in-command of

1) Petrie, *Gaza III* (London, 1933), pl. 16, Nos. 46, 48.

2) Albright, *Archeology of Palestine*. 2d ed., p. 79, pl. 11.

3) Tufnell, *Iraq* 15 (1951), 161-66. One point not emphasized by Miss Tufnell is the helmet worn by this figure. It is unfortunately broken at the very top, but if one follows the traces it looks very much like the helmets worn by soldiers in the ivory inlays from Ur. The general impression one gets at first glance is that this is an "Egyptianizing" sculpture, but once the piece is examined in detail the connection points rather toward Sumerian than Egyptian influence.

4) See p. 23, n. 6.

5) Tomb of Weni: cf. Sethe, *Urkunden I*, pp. 101 ff.; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, sects. 306 ff.

6) Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898), pl. 10. Petrie dated the tomb to the Fifth Dynasty, but it must come in the Sixth; Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1949), p. 219; Bear, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), p. 58. For other interpretations of this scene, including the possibility that this is a Libyan war, cf. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 51, note 3.

7) Newberry, *JEA* 24 (1938), 182-84.

8) For this title which, by the mid-Fifth Dynasty, had become largely honorific, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), pp. 33-34.

Egyptian expeditions into foreign countries often carried this title¹⁾ and that one of the two officials involved here states in his own tomb that he was responsible for the import of goods from the southern countries on behalf of the king. A. Fakhry also notes that this title "was given to officials of high rank who were occupied with boats and travel" and gives several examples where the "God's Treasurer" was placed in command of foreign expeditions²⁾. From these small hints it is possible to surmise that the three were on an official mission in the name of the ruler (Merenre or Pepi II), perhaps looking into the matter of Egypto-Byblian commercial relations. Nothing like this is indicated in this inscription though it is possible that they were on an inspection trip of important outlets of Egyptian trade.

II. MATERIAL BEARING ON EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH THE AEGEAN

A. Pre- and Protodynastic Periods

The Pre- and Protodynastic Periods are taken together here since they share a common problem; a great deal of the evidence offered as proof for Egypto-Aegean relations during this period rests on an untenable theory. The greatest proponent for the Egyptian origin of countless objects and influences found in Crete was Sir Arthur Evans who found such influence everywhere³⁾. Evans' work was supplemented primarily by J. D. S. Pendlebury⁴⁾. Interestingly enough, a new wave of scholars is at present proposing Egyptian influences in the Mycenaean civilization, many of which are as ill-founded as those presented by the Egypto-Minoan school⁵⁾.

1) Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

2) *ASAE* 38 (1938), 39 ff.

3) Evans whole theory is outlined in *Relations*. Cf. also *Pal. Minos*, *passim*, particularly vol. 2, 22 ff. The controversy over these supposed early relations between Egypt and Crete is not a new one as witness the short exchange between Von Bissing, Hall and Evans in *JEA* 1 (1914), 225-28.

4) Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca; The Archeology of Crete* (London, 1939), *passim*; *JEA* 16 (1930), 75-92. A posthumous article appears in Mylonas (ed.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*. Vol. 1 (St. Louis, 1951).

5) Cf. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 98 ff., 123, 125-26. By far the most untenable theory is that the gold found at Mycenae came from Egypt as

Generally speaking, the theory first proposed by Evans was of a migration from Egypt and Libya by sea to Crete. Two major objections can be raised against this. First is the argument that direct overseas travel, by virtue of the prevailing winds and currents, would be unlikely between Egypt and Crete¹). The second objection seems to me to be quite conclusive. Most of the evidence presented by Evans is from such widely separated ages that one must assume that Egyptian Pre- and Protodynastic objects, artistic motives, etc., were "survivals" in later Cretan contexts. Thus, crude figurines from Hagia Triada, Mochlos, Koumas and other sites are said to resemble those of Predynastic Naqada, though the context for the Cretan figurines is Early Minoan II which is roughly contemporary to the Egyptian Old Kingdom²). The list of such comparisons is almost endless, though we must remember that they were made at a time when the Minoan civilization was first being systematically organized and first real sequence of periods was being uncovered in the excavations at Knossos.

Without probing into an analysis of each individual object said to have an Egyptian origin, a few examples will suffice to show that there is no Egyptian material in the Aegean area which can unquestionably be dated to the Pre- or Protodynastic Periods. The class of objects most frequently cited as being Egyptian is that of stone vessels. Dozens of complete vessels and fragments have been called "Egyptian" and many of these have been dated to the Pre- or Protodynastic Periods. But Reisner, in a detailed study of this material, concluded that only eleven vessels of this whole group could be called Egyptian at all, and none of these can be dated prior to the Third Dynasty³). Of these

payment to Mycenaean mercenaries who were hired to aid in the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt; *ibid.*, pp. 99, 123.

1) Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes* (Paris, 1954), pp. 13 ff.

2) *Relations*, pp. 18 ff.; *Pal. Minos* I, p. 83, fig. 52; Hall, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (New York, 1928), pp. 44 ff.

3) Reisner, *Antiquity* 5 (1931), 203-05. Wace, among others, has pointed out the inadvisability of using Egyptian stone vessels to establish chronological synchronisms; *Chambered Tombs at Mycenae* (Oxford, 1932), p. 223, where he notes three Protodynastic Egyptian stone vessels found at different sites on the Greek mainland in deposits dating to the fifteenth century B.C.

eleven vessels, nine can be placed in the Third Dynasty, a factor of some significance. The original comparisons made by Evans and Pendlebury were either incorrect¹⁾ or chronologically improbable²⁾. Again, we must note the comparisons of the pear-shaped mace-head which has often been used to establish Egyptian relations with other areas. Examples were found in Crete and dated to both the Pre- and Protodynastic Periods³⁾. But, as I have already noted above (p. 3), the geographical and chronological distribution of this type of weapon does not support an Egyptian origin. Various other comparisons are equally invalid. Evans suggested that the double spout found on Middle Minoan pottery "perpetuates a very early tradition of which more primitive examples may eventually come to light on Cretan soil"⁴⁾, and presents Egyptian Protodynastic material as the prototype. Again, this is chronologically unsound. A small piece of inlay carved in the shape of a negroid face is said to be another evidence of Egypto-Cretan relations in the Protodynastic Period, yet this piece was acquired by purchase and its date and find-spot are uncertain⁵⁾. A collection of amulets and copper objects (mostly daggers) from south Crete has been given Egyptian prototypes, but there is nothing to support this⁶⁾.

1) A stone bowl dated by Reisner to the Third Dynasty was previously considered Predynastic; *Pal. Minos*, p. 30, fig. 12; Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, No. 22. A stone bowl found at Asine on the mainland in a Late Helladic or Geometric Period deposit was called Protodynastic; *Aegyptiaca*, No. 149. Note also *ibid.*, Nos. 27 and 97, Protodynastic bowls found in Middle Minoan III and Late Helladic III contexts.

2) Stone vessels with cylindrical cups found in the "bee-hive" tombs of south Crete were previously thought to be a Predynastic Egyptian type; *Relations*, pp. 23-24. Stone palettes found in these tombs were also given a Predynastic Egyptian origin; *ibid.*, p. 23, and *Pal. Minos* II, p. 44. But these tombs are Early Minoan II to Middle Minoan in date.

3) *Pal. Minos* II, fig. 3k; Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, No. 24.

4) *Pal. Minos*. I, p. 82.

5) *Relations*, p. 27. The fact that this object is made of *tridacna* shell from the Red Sea indicates that the material, at least, is an import. But there is no way of knowing when the material arrived in Crete or where the head was carved.

6) Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* (London, 1924), p. 129. As far as the subject matter is concerned, there are Egyptian parallels but these are ox-heads, legs, etc., which are common to both cultures. There is certainly no artistic resemblance. Of the copper objects, the daggers and all but a pair of tweezers (see next note) are of very simple types and can be found almost everywhere.

Out of this material, probably only a pair of copper tweezers could legitimately be called Egyptian, but it would be of a much later date ¹).

This is but a small part of the material which has been proposed as indicative of a very strong tie between Egypt and Crete prior to the Old Kingdom. But the sampling of evidence given here is sufficient to prove that this theory has been built on insubstantial grounds. References are still found, however, to Egyptian objects of these early periods in Neolithic Crete ²) and there are still echoes of Evans' Egypto-Libyan migration ³). For my own part, I am extremely skeptical of all this material for several reasons. The chronological gap, in many cases, is one of several centuries and one must assume that the supposed early borrowing was a "hold-over" in Crete. Then too, Evans often suggested a comparison with such a chronological gap, asserting that earlier examples will eventually be found ⁴). And many of the so-called Pre- and Protodynastic Egyptian objects were found in unstratified deposits. Finally, much of the evidence offered for Egypto-Aegean relations during this period consists of comparisons which are only apparent ⁵). As a general summary of Egypto-Aegean in the Pre- and

1) *Ibid.*, pl. 56, No. 2037; cf. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 64, No. 29, of Twelfth Dynasty date. The Mesara deposits range from Early Minoan to Middle Minoan times so this could well be an Egyptian Middle Kingdom export.

2) Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford, 1959), p. 24; Botsford and Robinson, *Hellenic History*. 4th ed. (New York, 1956), p. 15.

3) Massoulard, *Préhistoire et protohistoire d'Égypte* (Paris, 1949), p. 325. Mrs. Baumgartel, *Cultures I*, pp. 44-45, still accepts the existence of Egyptian Protodynastic stone vessels in Crète as evidence of a direct overseas contact between the Libyan coast and this island.

4) Cf. the "candlestick" found in Crete from Early Minoan II to Middle Minoan III times which is compared with an Egyptian example of the Fourth Dynasty; *Pal. Minos I*, p. 579, fig. 423. The date of the borrowing from Egypt is placed in the Protodynastic Period to fit the theory of an early migration to Crete from northeast Africa.

5) Note the statement that "Emery probably from Naxos and perhaps some obsidian from Melos . . . found their way to predynastic Egypt"; Blegen, in Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 34. Massoulard, *op. cit.*, p. 51, suggests emery was imported from the Aegean or Asia Minor, and Scharff, in Scharff and Moortgart, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich, 1950), p. 16, upholds the import of obsidian from the Aegean islands. However, the objects once said to be of emery have turned out, on examination, to be of another substance, native to Egypt; Lucas,

Protodynastic Periods, none of the evidence presented is in any way convincing and it seems unlikely that Egyptian objects of these early ages ever found their way to Crete.

B. The Old Kingdom

Roughly speaking, the Egyptian Old Kingdom is contemporary to the Early Minoan II Period in Crete and the Early Helladic II Period on the Greek mainland. Significantly, any Aegean chronology given in terms of centuries B.C. is wholly dependent on Egyptian chronology. For the second millennium B.C., there are enough finds to establish a general sequence of contemporary periods so that Aegean chronology is approximately fixed as far as the various periods of Aegean history and their relation to the periods of Egyptian history are concerned¹). Thus, the Middle Minoan I-IIa Periods can be placed contemporary to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom because of Egyptian finds in Crete and vice-versa²). Due to increasingly detailed knowledge of comparative archeology, it is now possible to use material from the Aegean, Anatolia, Syria-Palestine and Egypt to set up a sequence of archeological synchronisms throughout this whole area. But Egypt remains the key to any system of absolute dating for the east Mediterranean³).

As I have noted in the preceding section, there is no positive proof that any Egyptian object reached the Aegean during the Pre- and

Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, pp. 294-95. The obsidian used in Egypt is primarily from Abyssinia and only one possible late example can be said to have come from Melos; Lucas, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 122-23. There is thus no evidence that these materials found their way to Egypt from the Aegean in the Predynastic Period.

1) For a general discussion, cf. Weinberg, *Rel. Chron.*, pp. 86-107.

2) Cf. Ward, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 27 ff.; Smith, *AJA* 49 (1945), 1 ff.

3) The whole problem of east Mediterranean chronology from the standpoint of Anatolia has been studied by Mellaart in *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 55-88. In this, he argues for the low chronology for Egyptian history, that is, that the First Dynasty begins ca. 2900 B.C. But, as pointed out above, Egyptian chronology is still unfixed for these early periods. According to Mellaart, the Early Minoan I Period was contemporary to the Fourth-Fifth Dynasties and Early Minoan II with the Sixth Dynasty. Unfortunately, Egyptian finds in Crete are not nearly as numerous as has been thought and it is therefore rather difficult to build up as dependable a sequence of chronological synchronisms as we would like.

Protodynastic Periods. But, since we know that the Cretan Early Minoan II Period corresponds roughly to the Egyptian Old Kingdom, we may assume that the Cretan Early Minoan I Period corresponds approximately to the Egyptian Protodynastic Period. Fortunately, we can validate the Early Minoan II=Old Kingdom synchronism with evidence which is reliable.

The manufacture of stone vessels in Crete appears to have reached its apex in the Early Minoan II Period ¹⁾. Not only did the local industry thrive, but genuine imports from Egypt ²⁾ and numerous Cretan imitations of Egyptian stone vessels appear. However, the latter must be used with extreme caution since, because of the tendency to find Egyptian influence everywhere in ancient Crete, rather large numbers of stone vessels have been considered copies of Egyptian prototypes where there is no basis for such identifications. For example, the very ordinary "bird's-nest" bowl found in Crete has been considered an originally Egyptian form ³⁾. It is true that this form is found in Egypt throughout the Old Kingdom, but it is common to many cultures and of a very simple and utilitarian shape. Hence, it is difficult to see a genuine import or copy of an Egyptian type. The cylinder jar with flaring base and rim, however, is a distinctly Egyptian type and we may safely point out Cretan imitations of this form ⁴⁾. While I cannot agree that the art of carving stone vessels was a technological import from Egypt, it appears quite obvious that the influx of Egyptian stone vessels from the Third Dynasty on did give a strong impetus to the local industry.

Other finds in the Aegean dating to the Old Kingdom consist of one short inscription and two doubtful seals. The inscription consists of three hieroglyphic characters inscribed on a small stone cup of very common shape which was found on the island of Cythera, apparently

1) Seager, *Explorations on the Island of Mochlos* (Boston, 1912), p. 101; Pendlebury, *Archeology of Crete*, p. 69.

2) Cf. p. 28 and note 3.

3) Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, No. 1741, and pl. 22, No. 760.

4) *Ibid.*, pl. 53, No. 1904; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, Nos. 3f and k; *Pal. Minos* I, p. 93.

not in a datable deposit¹⁾. The three signs preserve the name of the Fifth Dynasty sun temple of Userkaf at Abu-sir, an interpretation first argued by Sethe²⁾. This temple has now been excavated and examples of this name found in situ³⁾. The presence of this Egyptian object on Cythera presents an interesting problem. A ruler of Eshnunna in Mesopotamia sent an inscription to Cythera containing a prayer for his life in the eighteenth century B.C.⁴⁾ and Herodotus (Book i, 105) mentions a Phoenician temple on the island. So there is a vague tradition stretching back into the mid-third millennium B.C. that Cythera was an internationally recognized religious center. The evidence is admittedly very slim and it would be pressing the point to suggest there was an oracle here like those of Apollo at Delphi and Miletus. Until recently, the Cythera inscription was isolated, but the sensational discovery of another Fifth Dynasty inscription near the Sea of Marmara in north-western Anatolia throws a new, however obscure, light on the question of Egyptian relations with the Aegean world in this period (see pp. 34-36, below).

The two seals of supposed Egyptian origin were found in an Early Minoan II deposit on the island of Mochlos. One is a broad, curved ivory cylinder with a simple design carved on one end, consisting of two S-scrolls joined by one C-scroll⁵⁾. This design was first called a lotus "of very Egyptian character" but it is nothing of the kind. In fact, the object itself is distinctly un-Egyptian and the scroll designs are quite at home in Minoan art⁶⁾. Hence this object cannot be considered an Egyptian import or even one that shows Egyptian influence.

1) Evans *JHS* 17 (1897), 349-50. The cup is assumed to be a local product of the "late pre-Mycenaean" period on the basis of the material used and the simple form. The three characters were originally taken as belonging to the Aegean Linear script.

2) Sethe, *ZAS* 53 (1917), 55.

3) Ricke, *ASAE* 54 (1956), 75-82, pl. 1b, 305-16. Previously known examples of this name are in Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* I (Cairo, 1907), p. 106.

4) Weidner, *JHS* 59 (1939), 137-38.

5) Seager, *Explorations on the Island of Mochlos*, fig. 12, No. 1141; Pendlebury, *Archeology of Crete*, pp. 72, 75.

6) Kantor, *Egypt and the Aegean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Bloomington, 1947), pp. 21 ff.

The other seal does show an Egyptian design—two apes back to back—and can probably be considered an import ¹).

Other suggested Old Kingdom influences in the Aegean are certainly incorrect. It was once thought that a Cretan beaked-jug pottery type, the "Schnabelkanne", was of Egyptian origin or at least of Egyptian influence ²). It is now known that Aegean relations with Anatolia were very strong and this pottery type is probably of Anatolian origin ³). It has also been asserted that the art of glazing was brought to Crete from Egypt in the Early Minoan Period, but one must be very careful about suggesting the borrowing of technical processes which can be discovered independently ⁴). Likewise, a stone "offering-table" type found in Crete has been likened to Egyptian offering-tables of the Old Kingdom, but the resemblance is only superficial ⁵). And an incised lily design on Early Cycladic Pottery has been termed a "lily-petal" and given an Egyptian origin, but there is no evidence to support this ⁶). A statue head from Athens has been listed as Old Kingdom, but this is of such a general type that no dating is possible ⁷).

III. MATERIAL BEARING ON EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH ANATOLIA

One of the most provocative discoveries of recent years, certainly as far as Egyptian relations with western Anatolia are concerned, is the inscribed gold leaf which once covered a wooden throne, or the like, found at Dorak, near the Sea of Marmara. Only fragments are

1) Seager, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, No. 1142. Cf. Brunton, *Mostagedda* pl. 60, No. 37 (Dyn. VI). More often than not, the animals face each other in Egyptian examples and are not back-to-back as on the Mochlos seal.

2) Hall, *JEA* 1 (1914), 110; *Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 49.

3) Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East II* (London, 1927), p. 86.

4) Hall, *JEA* 1 (1914), 117; *Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 70; Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara*, p. 129.

5) *Pal. Minos I*, p. 75, pl. 76.

6) Hall, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 57; *Aegean Archaeology* (London, 1915), pl. 13, No. 5.

7) Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VII*, p. 401. Cf. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, *Catalogus eener verzameling Egyptische Grieksche, Romeinsche en andere oudheden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1909), p. 55, No. 14, which states: "From Athens. Later period than the Old Kingdom".

left, but enough is preserved to give the name and titles of King Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty. The inscription is obviously the best work of the period and there is no doubt that this is a work produced in the royal workshops of the Egyptian king¹). The tomb in which this was found belongs to the Yortan culture which some scholars feel was Luwian²). This discovery opens a whole new vista in the study of Egyptian foreign relations and, indeed, in the whole concept of intercultural penetration during the third millennium B.C. throughout the east Mediterranean world. Still, it is best to be cautious in interpreting this unprecedented find. It is premature to assume that the Luwians and Egyptians were engaging in trade in the mid-third millennium³). This discovery was made on the shores of the Apolyont Lake, about thirty kilometers south of the Sea of Marmara. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to entertain theories which suggest a kingdom of such importance in this area that a powerful monarch of the Egyptian Fifth Dynasty would send a royal gift.

In connection with this, it is strange that no Egyptian objects were uncovered at Troy, a city of such importance in this general area that we should expect Egyptian material here if there was any contact at all between Egypt and the northern Aegean area. But the Dorak inscription, as noted above, is one of two royal inscriptions of the Fifth Dynasty found in the west, the other being the small cup from Cythera. The Cythera cup can possibly be explained as a gift to a local shrine, though this is without solid substantiating evidence. But a royal gift to a local ruler at a site on an inland lake in northwestern Anatolia stands unparalleled in this period. We can only conclude that there was a kingdom of considerable importance south of the Sea of Marmara in the mid-third millennium B.C. and that the present state

1) Mellaart, *Illus. London News*, Nov. 28, 1959, p. 754; Schachermeyer, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), 229-32; Bossert, *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 317-20.

2) Goetze, *Kleinasien* (Munich, 1933), pp. 54-55; Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 319. There is still a great deal of debate on this question, however, and the equation of the Luwians with the Yortan culture is not certain.

3) "An Hand der Dorakfunde wurde mir klar, dass die Luwier in der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends mit Ägypten Handel trieben..."; Bossert, *loc. cit.*

of our knowledge fails us in determining its extent and political importance.

While the historical problems of western Anatolia lie outside the scope of the present article, we may at least note one distinct possibility. Mellaart has produced a considerable body of evidence which leads to the conclusion that great waves of Indo-Europeans were entering western Anatolia around the mid-third millennium B.C. The destruction of the first city at Troy was one result. The Luwians were part of this wave, according to Mellaart, and settled in northwestern Anatolia ¹). It is conceivable that a kingdom was set up at this time of sufficient importance to warrant the sending of a royal gift by an Egyptian king. But the chronology of both this migration and the Egyptian Old Kingdom is still unsettled and there is no way of knowing at the present time if the Sahure inscription reached Dorak before or after the migration. Hence, it would be hazardous to suggest that an Egyptian king was sending a Luwian monarch a royal present. For the time being, it seems best not to speculate on *why* this Egyptian inscription found its way to Dorak. *How* it came to be there is a matter to be taken up in the conclusion to the present study.

The only other Old Kingdom connections with Anatolia are with the Cilician Plain in the southeast. Miss Goldman has proposed that two pots with Cilician reserve slip fabric and shape were found in a Fourth Dynasty tomb at the Giza necropolis ²). Her contention is that this ware "seems adequate evidence for some sort of export trade in this period from Cilicia to Egypt" ³). Yet, these same pots are elsewhere described as "a degenerate version of the reserved-slip ware known at an early period in northern Syria and found as a possibly imported form and ware in Cilicia at Tarsus" ⁴). It is hard to reject Miss Goldman's identification and her opinion of what is and what is not Cilician pottery

1) Mellaart, *AJA* 62 (1958), 25-32.

2) Goldman, *Tarsus II* (Princeton, 1956), p. 60; *Rel. Chron.*, p. 73.

3) Goldman, *Tarsus II*, p. 347.

4) Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, p. 73. These pots are drawn in Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), p. 411, fig. 234c.

must certainly be given preference. However, I cannot assume with her that two pots in an Egyptian tomb are sufficient proof of an export trade from Cilicia to Egypt. There seems to me to be a much more acceptable line of reasoning—an intermediary between Cilicia and Egypt which could only be Byblos.

There are also three seal designs from Tarsus which are said to show Egyptian influence. The first, according to Miss Goldman, "is related to a well-known design which appeared suddenly in Egypt and which spread with Egyptian conquests or trade relations into Syria and Palestine, Crete and possibly from Crete to the Greek mainland The Tarsus seal is almost certainly not of Egyptian origin but in view of the evidence for trade relations between Egypt and Cilicia, the design was probably inspired by Egypt"¹). This seal is of the so-called "labyrinth" or "maze-pattern" type which has previously been given an Egyptian origin²). It is well to be cautious in attempting to isolate the origin of geometric patterns on seals. Given a square or oblong shape on which to put a geometric pattern, the maze or labyrinth is one very natural result. There is nothing to stand against local invention in several places.

A second seal from Tarsus is classed as "an unusually fine Egyptian button seal"³) which is "characteristic in its syntax of a group of Egyptian seals which are thought to be of a shape foreign to Egypt and of Asiatic origin"⁴). This button seal is of stone and covered with a light blue glaze; the design consists of an alligator, an antelope and a prostrate human figure. Whether this seal can be considered Egyptian depends rather strongly on whether the button seals as a class can be considered Egyptian.

While I have no intention here of entering the long debate on the origin of Egyptian button seals, used most commonly in the First

1) Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 233, pl. 233, pl. 392, No. 11.

2) Albright, *AASOR* 17 (1938), 47, note 44. But see Kantor, *Egypt and the Aegean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, pp. 28 ff.

3) Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 234; cf. pl. 393, No. 25.

4) Goldman, *Rel. Chron.*, p. 73.

Intermediate Period, a few salient facts can be mentioned. The general consensus of opinion is that this type of object originated somewhere in the north ¹). But there is contrary evidence from within Egypt which may indicate that the Egyptian button seals were of native origin. Stamp seals are known from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties ²) and the circular button seal also makes a rare appearance in the Old Kingdom ³). The development of the backs of these early seals indicates a regular sequence of stages. The earliest examples show a nondescript lump pierced with a hole for a string. Then follows the pyramidoid shape which is characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty. The standard form during the Sixth Dynasty is a low, pierced knob.

The button seal, which is a characteristic feature of the First Intermediate Period, may thus have a local history reaching back to the Fourth Dynasty. That this class of objects goes out of use at the close of the First Intermediate Period is due to its being replaced by the scarab, an object which also has a history going back to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties ⁴). The total repertoire of designs carved on these seals also shows a regular development. They begin with animal, human and plant designs, with geometric designs coming into prominence during the later First Intermediate Period.

These few facts, of course, only touch on this whole problem, but they at least show the possibility that an Asiatic origin for this class of object is open to question. The Tarsus seal under discussion presents certain difficulties but these are not insurmountable. It was first dated to the end of the Early Bronze II or the beginning of the Early Bronze III Periods, but, in the final publication of the Tarsus excavations, it was placed in the latter period alone. This is much more in keeping with the Egyptian evidence since the seal has a handle in the form of

1) Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), p. 1; Goldman, *loc. cit.*; Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, p. 111; Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), 88; Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, p. 79; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), p. 142.

2) Brunton, *op. cit.*, pl. 32, Nos. 4-8; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 60, Nos. 3-4.

3) Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, pl. 5, Nos. 293-94; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 60, No. 8.

4) Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

an animal and this type of back did not appear in Egypt until toward the end of the First Intermediate Period. Hence, if we accept this seal as Egyptian, it should probably be dated no earlier than the Ninth Dynasty and not taken as evidence of Egyptian foreign relations even for the final years of the Old Kingdom.

The third seal from Tarsus which is said to have some connection with Egypt in reality has none at all and must be of local design and manufacture ¹).

One final link with Egypt must be treated with care. Miss Goldman suggests the possibility that Early Bronze Cilicia learned the art of stone-cutting from Egypt along with the Early Minoan and Early Helladic cultures of the Aegean ²). This idea, of course, has long been put forward for Crete ³). However, stone vessels were being manufactured in Anatolia long before there was any question of Egyptian influence and we can hardly say that this art was learned from Egyptians of the Old Kingdom ⁴).

IV. EGYPTIAN TRADE RELATIONS IN THE EAST MEDITERRANEAN

A. Shipping Routes in the East Mediterranean

Discoveries of major importance made during the past few years have brought about a significant change in our concepts of prehistoric village cultures in the ancient Mediterranean world. It is now known that permanent villages were already established in the eighth and

1) Goldman, *Tarsus II*, pl. 393, No. 23.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 347.

3) Seager, *Explorations on the Island of Mochlos*, pp. 102-03; Pendlebury, *Archeology of Crete*, p. 69.

4) For example, at Hacilar in both the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods; Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 8 (1958), 149; at Mersin, Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 17, 173. Note also that a thriving stone vessel industry preceded the invention of pottery on Cyprus. There is no connection with Egyptian stone vessels; the materials are local and no characteristic Egyptian shapes appear; Dikaios, *Khirokitia* (Oxford, 1953), p. 335.

seventh millennia B.C., for example, at Hacilar in Turkey ¹), Eynan ²) and Jericho ³) in Palestine. Similar discoveries have been made in northern Greece and elsewhere in Turkey, though not quite this early ⁴). With the excavation of these ancient towns, a vast reorientation of our thinking with regard to trade relations and the routes by which this trade was carried on has been necessary. It is now apparent that long-range commercial contacts between the various cultures around the east Mediterranean were under way in the fourth millenium B.C. And it is also apparent that the entire east Mediterranean world was, in this early period, linked together by a network of shipping lanes which reached from the northern Aegean area to Egypt.

There is, first of all, conclusive proof from Ras Shamra level IV C—the “Chalcolithique Ancien”—that overseas trade with Cyprus was being carried on in this early period. Pottery has been found in this level which is identical in technique, style and fabric with contemporary Cypriote ware. Such pottery has also been found at Mersin and we can only conclude that there was a sea route between Cyprus and the northeast corner of the Mediterranean sea. It is also proposed that this same pottery provides a link between prehistoric Thessaly and Cyprus and that there may have been a route from southeastern Europe to the Near East with Cyprus as an important intermediate step ⁵). This latter suggestion may seem to reach too far but it has recently been shown that there was some contact between west Anatolia, Thrace and Macedonia as well as the Cyclades and the Greek mainland in the Anatolian Late Chalcolithic Period ⁶). Thus, the trade routes in the

1) Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 8 (1958), 127-56; 9 (1959), 51-65; 10 (1960), 83-104; 11 (1961), 39-75, especially the chart on p. 74. A most promising excavation has now been begun at Çatal Hüyük in the Anatolian plateau. The first season has revealed a city of more than usual size of the Neolithic Period, dating to the seventh and early sixth millennia B.C.; Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 12 (1962), 41-65.

2) Parrot, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 14-22.

3) Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* (London, 1957), pp. 73 ff.

4) Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 10 (1960), 87-88. For the pre-pottery Neolithic on Cyprus, cf. p. 39, n. 4.

5) Schaeffer, *Syria* 38 (1961), 17 ff.

6) French, *Anat. St.* 11 (1961), 99-141; Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 78 ff.

Aegean were well-established in the late fourth millennium B.C. These trade connections were quite complex. Mersin shows a pottery type of the Early Bronze Period which has affinities with Anatolian sites, the island of Lesbos, Neolithic Thessaly and possibly Crete¹). During the early third millennium, the island of Lesbos shows some evidence of contact with the Cyclades as well as Macedonia²). And a commercial settlement at Aghios Kosmos in Attica was established by Cycladic people for the possible purpose of exploiting obsidian toward the close of the Early Bronze Age³). Obsidian and pottery from Cyprus show a strong connection with Anatolia and Thessaly⁴). There can thus be no doubt that in the first half of the third millennium B.C., the shipping lanes of the Aegean world were quite active.

The sea route connecting northwest Anatolia, the whole Aegean complex and Cilicia was also in early use. During the first half of the third millennium B.C., trade between Troy and Tarsus had already begun⁵). This means that a sea route down the western coast of Anatolia and eastward to Cilicia is now verified. In summary, there is no doubt that sea trade was being carried on throughout the Aegean world and the east Mediterranean as early as the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. and that the whole complex of local sea-lanes was linked together during the first half of the third⁶). With regard to the foreign relations of Egypt, this complex of sea-routes is of extreme importance.

B. The Sea-Route to Egypt

There is no doubt that the sea-route to Egypt was already in use in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. The Egyptian Pre-

1) Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, p. 187. This institutes a shift in the cultural orientation of Mersin which, throughout the Chalcolithic Period, was with the Mesopotamian sequence of prehistoric cultures. The same is true of Tarsus.

2) Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 90-91, 208-09.

3) Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmos. An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 154-55, 162.

4) Dikaios, *Khirokitia*, pp. 316-18; *Report of the Dept. of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1936, Part I, pp. 41-42, 45.

5) Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 82 ff.

6) Cf. Blegen's discussion of the sea route between the Aegean and Syria in Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East*, pp. 32-35.

dynastic objects in Syria and the Syrian material in Egypt, scanty though it may be, are ample proof of a connection between the two areas at this time. By the First Dynasty, this relationship has reached substantial proportions as shown particularly by the amount of Syrian pottery and timber in Egypt. That this relationship was commercial is beyond question. And there is no alternative to this commercial connection, even in the earliest period, being by sea. Not only is this the most logical route between the Syrian coast and Egypt, but, as we have already seen, the shipping lanes in the north were quite well-established and sea-trade was a normal element in commerce everywhere in the east Mediterranean. But a basic problem which now confronts us has to do with the originators of the Syro-Egyptian trade contacts.

The most interesting point about the earliest Egyptian connections with the north is that Egypt appears to have been a relative late-comer in international trade. We can see the beginnings of foreign contact with Syria-Palestine in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C., but longer and stronger connections were already established throughout the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean areas when Egypt first came on the scene. Egypt was not isolated from the rest of the world by any means; the connections with Syria and Palestine are far too positive to suggest that Egypt was not part of the great complex of sea-routes which joined southeastern Europe, the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, Cyprus, Anatolia and Syria together.

But there is no indication that Egyptian trade interests went farther north than Byblos throughout the Pre- and Protodynastic Periods and the Old Kingdom. The most conspicuous item of ancient international trade was pottery and, with the exception of the two Cilician pots, there is in Egypt no pottery from anywhere in the east Mediterranean world other than that from Syria-Palestine¹). Cyprus seems to have remained outside the orbit of Egyptian trade until the early second millennium B.C. I am certain that we can speak of direct Egyptian contacts only with Syria-Palestine for the whole period under dis-

1) The "Aegean" pottery given in Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 54, and the two examples quoted by Emery (see p. 19, n. 2, above) are of Syrian origin.

cussion. The suggested direct sea-route between Crete and Egypt is certainly out of the question.

It is possible to tentatively suggest two distinct stages in the development of Egyptian sea connections with the east Mediterranean world prior to the end of the Old Kingdom. I must emphasize that this is only a tentative suggestion which is subject to change at any time by the discovery of new material. But, in the light of what is presently known, there appears to be one stage which lasts through the Pre- and Proto-dynastic Periods and a second which corresponds to the Old Kingdom. The approximate date at which the first changes into the second would be ca. 2700 B.C., that is, the beginning of the Third Dynasty.

During the earlier period, the initiative for foreign contacts lay in the north. It is during this time that the sea-routes which criss-crossed the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean Sea were being established. The appearance of Syrian products in Predynastic Egypt indicates that Syrian ships were coming to Egypt even before the Nile Valley was united into one nation. It is now clear that settled village life and even walled cities existed in the north long before the earliest known settlements in Egypt. There is nothing like the pre-pottery Neolithic in Egypt, a stage which is now rapidly becoming known in Syria-Palestine, Cyprus and Anatolia. And one of these pre-pottery Neolithic sites is Ras Shamra which, by Chalcolithic times, was already engaged in trade with Cyprus and Cilicia. It would appear, then, that foreign contacts were more diverse and definitely more established in the northeast Mediterranean area before Egypt was ready to participate in overseas trade. It is quite true that Egypt developed full civilization in advance of any other area in the east Mediterranean, but it does not necessarily follow that Egypt was responsible for her own first foreign contacts. Urban culture had a great headstart in the north and a concomitant feature of urban growth is foreign trade. This is a tenuous argument and one put forward only with caution, but, in the light of the material evidence now available, it seems reasonable.

This whole problem is usually argued the other way round; most historians suggest that Egyptian ships went to Byblos and that the

substantial trade in Syrian timber was the result of Egyptian initiative. There is no doubt that the timber trade was a major emphasis in Syro-Egyptian contacts. The larger tombs of the First Dynasty were roofed and floored with large beams which could not have been hewn out of native trees, these being unsuitable for this purpose. But this does not force us to the conclusion that Egyptians were the carriers of this trade. We are faced with the two possibilities of the source going to the market or the market going to the source. Either, of course, is possible but it seems much more logical that, since urban culture had a headstart in the north and the sea-lanes of the northeast Mediterranean area were being used quite early, the Syrians instituted the earlier trade contacts with Egypt¹).

There is a somewhat different picture for the Old Kingdom Period. Egyptian royal names begin to appear at Byblos only at the very end of the Second Dynasty. Taken by itself, this fact means little, but there are other factors which combine to indicate a plausible conclusion. Egyptian objects begin to appear in the Aegean in the Third Dynasty. And there is reason to believe that the earliest Egyptian exploitation of Sinai comes in the Third Dynasty. The evidence is admittedly meager, but it would appear that it was with the creation of the Old Kingdom that the absolute monarchs of this age took the initiative in trade relations with Syria.

The fruitful relations with Syria, already begun by Syrians before the Third Dynasty, were thus brought under the control of the Egyptian state. By this time, Egypt had settled her own internal problems²)

1) I have purposely omitted a discussion of ships for this early period. We have no way of comparing Syrian and Egyptian ships of the late fourth and early third millennia B.C. due to the lack of material. But the fact that early Egyptian ships were built primarily for river-transport and that the sea-lanes in the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean were being used in this period would indicate that it was the northerners who first developed ocean-going vessels. Cf. the short statement in *IEJ* 10 (1960), 48-49. The Egyptians, of course, by the Old Kingdom had invented mechanical devices to make up for the lack of keel and ribs in their ship construction; Faulkner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 3-9.

2) The history of the Second Dynasty is extremely obscure but there are hints of political disturbances within Egypt which would have prevented an absolute monar-

and could turn her attention to international trade. It is worthy of note that the strong connections with Syria which flourished in the First Dynasty seem to have declined rather considerably during the Second. For example, the Syrian one-handed pottery jug which was a common import during the First Dynasty is found only in odd examples in the following period ¹⁾. It may be that there was a general decline in foreign connections between the First and Third Dynasties and that it was the energetic new Egyptian monarchs of the Third Dynasty who resumed them. Though it is outside the limits of this discussion, I would also mention the disappearance of Mesopotamian influence after the First Dynasty. This is usually understood as having been caused by a tendency on the part of the Egyptians to develop their own material culture and reject those foreign influences they found incompatible with their native spirit. But this breaking-off of Mesopotamian influence could just as well have been one result of a general decline of foreign trade after the close of the First Dynasty.

C. The Land-Route to Egypt

Since I am concerned in the present study with Egyptian trade connections with east Mediterranean countries, I shall limit myself here to a discussion of the land-route from Palestine into Egypt. There were, of course, other means of access into the Nile Valley by land, particularly the southern route up the Nile from Nubia and the road through the Wadi Hammamat. Since a following article will deal in detail with the early connections between Egypt and Mesopotamia, the supposed invasion of Egypt through the Wadi Hammamat at the beginning of the Naqada II Period will be omitted here. Suffice it to say for the moment that I am quite convinced no such invasion ever took place. But this must be discussed within the framework of a

chy and a royal control over far-flung trade connections of the period; cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 415 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, pp. 159-60.

¹⁾ Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, p. 65.

much broader subject and cannot be taken up in the present context. I will therefore restrict myself to the no less problematic subject of the origin and development of Egyptian trade with Palestine via the land-route that connected these two areas.

This land-route from Palestine must have existed in the Predynastic Period. It entered Egypt through the Gaza area, then across the Isthmus of Suez and down the eastern fringe of the Delta to the Cairo area and beyond. Unfortunately, we must depend entirely on Palestinian material in Egypt to prove such early connections since, with the exception of one lonely sherd of Predynastic ware at Lachish, there is no Egyptian material in Palestine. Egyptian connections with Asia begin in the early Naqada II Period and increase greatly in the later Naqada II Period. An absolute chronology is not possible though Carbon 14 dates for Egyptian Predynastic remains place the beginning of the Naqada II Period around the mid-fourth millennium B.C. On the basis of the Palestinian material in Egypt we can therefore assume that the land-route connecting Egypt with Palestine was being used in the later fourth millennium B.C.

If there is no problem about the existence of this land-route in the Naqada II Period, there is certainly a very much discussed problem regarding how these earliest connections were made. The question revolves around certain features of the Naqada II culture, namely: (1) relations with Palestine begin at this time, (2) there is a supposedly sharp difference between the material cultures of Naqada I and II with the introduction of new features, processes and materials in the latter, (3) the Egypto-Semitic character of the Egyptian language when it first appears in written form in the First Dynasty, and (4) the fact that the Naqada II culture was the first to spread over all of Egypt, giving the Nile Valley a unified culture for the first time. Based on these major factors with a sizable body of evidence given to support them, the theory has been proposed that the Naqada II culture was originated by a Semitic-speaking people who invaded the northern part of Egypt and then spread southward to eventually claim all of Egypt proper and lay the groundwork for the historic

period ¹⁾. There are, however, legitimate criticisms of this theory which I will briefly note.

The fact that connections with Palestine begin in the Naqada II Period can be interpreted differently than resulting from a migration or invasion from the north. Were it possible to show that all, or even most, of the foreign material which appears in this period came in suddenly, a good case could be made for foreign hordes descending on Egypt to supplant the Naqada I people ²⁾. But the point is, the pottery from Palestine begins to appear in the earlier Naqada II Period and then comes in greater numbers and variety as the period goes on. Side by side with the introduction of more variety in the Palestinian pottery comes the gradual introduction of Syrian and Mesopotamian material. This whole influx of foreign elements takes place over a considerable period of time. It is evidence of increasingly prosperous commercial connections and not an invasion by foreigners.

Probably the most extensive arguments on behalf of an invasion are those dealing with the appearance of new elements in the Naqada II culture which did not exist in Naqada I. Scholars are sharply divided on this point, some insisting that the Naqada II culture was vastly different from that of Naqada I ³⁾, others that the development of Naqada I into Naqada II and the introduction of new features was indigenous with some outside influence but no invasion ⁴⁾. Still others try to mediate between the two positions, suggesting a more or less gradual infiltration of foreigners who brought in the new features of the Naqada II Period ⁵⁾. But a general look at the "new" features does not inspire confidence in either an invasion or a lengthy migra-

1) A brief outline of this is given by Scharff, in *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, pp. 15 ff.

2) Miss Murray, *JEA* 42 (1956), 94, gives a strong statement relative to a military conquest.

3) Murray, *loc. cit.*; *Cultures I*, pp. 38 ff.

4) Kantor, *AJA* 53 (1949), 76-79; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 392; Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, p. 40.

5) Massoulard, *Préhistoire et Protohistoire*, p. 236; Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (New York, 1953), p. 66.

tion¹). The new variety in both form and material in the Naqada II stone vessel industry and the use of gold, silver and copper do not have to be laid at the feet of an invasion by superior people²). In any expanding culture such as the Naqada II Period certainly was, a development in local industries and technological processes is quite normal. In fact, the very existence of cultural development presupposes these things. It seems rather illogical to deny the native Egyptians the ability to make such advances on their own and insist that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were incapable of doing so without outside help.

I do not deny the existence of imported objects from Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. The evidence is quite plain that these areas exported local products to Egypt throughout the Naqada II Period. But the import of foreign pottery, the use of a few foreign art motives, and the like, does not automatically imply a foreign invasion. The notion that new elements in Egyptian culture presume a new foreign people entering the Nile Valley is proposed with great frequency. One historian sees no less than five major migrations into Egypt from Naqada II times to the Sixth Dynasty³). But it is hardly likely that every innovation in early Egyptian culture was the result of foreign invasions by peoples with a superior mentality.

Besides, there is good evidence for the continuity of culture in Egypt throughout the Predynastic Period and on into the historic age. The pottery industry, with the exception of certain styles characteristic of each period (a factor we should expect in any progressing society), shows a continuous development. Ivory combs, slate palettes and other classes of objects also show a progressive sequence of change which need not be ascribed to foreign invaders or even foreign influences.

1) These are conveniently collected in *Cultures I*, pp. 38-50, and, while Mrs. Baumgartel uses them to prove a Mesopotamian origin for the Naqada II people, these same features are used elsewhere as evidence of an invasion from Palestine.

2) Contrary to the oft-repeated statement that silver, which was used from Predynastic times onward in very rare quantities, had to be imported, Lucas states that the source of supply was local until the Eighteenth Dynasty; *Materials and Industries*, p. 280.

3) Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History* (London, 1946), pp. 93-94, for summary.

The human skeletons from the Predynastic Period indicate that throughout this age the same ethnic type was present in Egypt. This in itself might mean little since the whole east Mediterranean area seems to have been inhabited by a general "Mediterranean" ethnic type. But the methods of burial show no significant changes during the whole Predynastic Period and this is one sure indication of a stable society. Faced with such a definite picture of a continuous and regular cultural development, it is difficult to accept the constantly repeated idea that the Naqada II culture was imposed on the indigenous Naqada I culture by foreigners. That there were foreign influences and imports in the Naqada II Period is beyond question, but I would insist that these were the results of normal trade relations and rule out any invasion or extensive migrations.

Against the fact that the Egyptian language already possessed its Egypto-Semitic character when the earliest inscriptions appear there can be no argument¹). No one who has studied the origins of the Egyptian language can deny that in both grammar and vocabulary there is a very strong Semitic linguistic superstratum already in evidence in First Dynasty inscriptions. But this does not, by any means, indicate that we may conclude that the people of the Naqada II Period spoke a Semitic language. I much prefer to assign this particular foreign influence to the only invasion of early Egypt for which there is any positive proof—both archeological and anthropological—namely, the so-called "Dynastic Race" which entered Egypt at the close of the Predynastic Period and was, in large part, responsible for the abrupt appearance of the historic age²). Writing and a distinctly Mesopotamian type of architecture—the niched brick facade, or recess-panelling—both appear suddenly in rather advanced stages of development. Both are generally considered to be among the major contributions of the

1) For a general orientation, see Lefebvre, *Cd'E* No. 22 (1936), 266-92. On the term "Egypto-Semitic", see the introduction to my forthcoming article on Semitic loans in Egyptian, *Orientalia* 32 (1963), fasc. 2.

2) On the Dynastic Race, cf. Englebach, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 193-221; Derry, *JEA* 42 (1956), 80-85; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pp. 38 ff.

Dynastic Race to the formation of Egyptian civilization. It is quite possible that in introducing the idea of writing these people also imposed their own language on that of the native Egyptians, producing the Egyptian language as we know it from the inscriptions¹). (The clearest analogy, of course, is English, an artificial language created primarily from the fusion of Anglo-Saxon and the dialect of England's Norman French invaders). I believe it quite probable that the strong Semitic linguistic superstratum was imposed on ancient Egyptian at the end of the Naqada II Period, not the beginning.

The fourth major factor used to prove an invasion of Egypt at the beginning of the Naqada II Period—the spread of this culture over the whole Nile Valley—can also be interpreted otherwise than resulting from a foreign invasion. Naqada II sites in the south stretch from Matmar in middle Egypt to Elephantine, with the heaviest concentration around the great bend of the Nile River in the Abydos-Koptos-Thebes area. From Matmar northward, there are no Naqada II remains until the Fayum area. The geographical distribution of Naqada II sites has been a bulwark of the theory which brings invaders into Egypt through the Wadi Hammamat since this route enters the Nile Valley precisely at the point where Naqada II sites are most heavily concentrated. But this is countered by proponents of a northern invasion by the fact that there are no Badarian or Naqada I sites in the north. This is interpreted as meaning that Naqada II either developed in the Delta or was brought in from the outside, was developed first in the Fayum area and then spread south to conquer the indigenous Naqada I culture. The Delta hypothesis, I think, has been satisfactorily disposed of by Mrs. Baumgartel who amasses sufficient evidence to show that the Delta was uninhabitable in these early centuries. We can therefore not assume that the origins of the Naqada II culture still lie buried under the rich fields of this region²).

1) In the case of the Dynastic Race, as in that of the "invasion" at the beginning of the Naqada II Period, scholars are divided as to whether there was an actual invasion and, if so, the origin of the invaders, their number and the route by which they entered Egypt.

2) *Cultures I*, pp. 3-18. Not all historians agree with this conclusion but in view of what evidence is presently available, it is the most acceptable.

We are thus left with three alternatives to explain why the Naqada II culture spread up and down the Nile Valley, eventually uniting Egypt into a single cultural complex: (1) an invasion or migration from Palestine, moving slowly southward to overwhelm the native Naqada I culture, (2) an invasion from the east through the Wadi Hammamat which moved northward, establishing new sites in the Fayum area, and (3) an indigenous development out of the Naqada I culture which, under normal expansion and growth, moved both north and south. Each theory has its partisans and the most one can do is cast a vote for that which he thinks is most likely. As I have already indicated, I am not convinced by any argument so far presented that there was any invasion or migration at all at the beginning of the Naqada II Period. While there are many new features in the Naqada II culture, most of these can be shown to be purely local developments, arising from an increasingly complex and growing society. Many features of material culture show a continuous development throughout the Predynastic Period, tying Badarian, Naqada I and Naqada II together. It is definitely more probable that the Naqada II culture was a local development, originating out of the Naqada I culture in the south, to which was added a normal impetus in the development of material culture arising from trade contacts with the outside world.

None of the above remarks, of course, rules out a gradual infiltration of foreign elements during the later Predynastic Period. We may take for granted that individuals moved into Egypt for the purpose of establishing permanent residence there, and there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that among these individuals were craftsmen and the like who may well have introduced some of the innovations in the culture of the period. Such infiltration, however, is far different than invasion or migration, both of which presume substantial numbers of people. It is quite impossible to assess the relative contribution made by infiltrating individuals over against that made by regular trade connections. The ability of a few individuals to bring about far-reaching changes should, however, not be underestimated. The body armor industry in sixteenth century England, for example, was changed

considerably by the migration of a few German craftsmen who created a new style. In speaking of such remote ages as predynastic Egypt, we often lose sight of the individual since he is usually obscured by broad generalizations which deal with nations.

The Palestinian objects found in Egypt in the Pre- and Protodynastic Periods therefore came to the Nile Valley via the land-route in the course of normal trade relations and the infiltration of individuals. As to the originators of this trade, I would suggest the same in connection with this land-route that I have already suggested for the sea-route from Syria. Comparable to the network of sea-routes which joined the east Mediterranean countries together was a vast cultural complex which stretched from upper Mesopotamia to the Cilician Plain. So intimately connected by trade and other contacts was this area that we often hear the prehistoric cultures of Syria and Cilicia described as variants of the Mesopotamian prehistoric cultural sequence. Such a wide geographical distribution of these early northern cultures can only mean that the rivers and land-routes of this area were well-travelled throughout the Chalcolithic Period¹). We may therefore conclude, tentatively, that the extensive trade connections in the north and the early appearance of urban culture here would indicate that the initial trade with Egypt in the Naqada II Period was the result of northern initiative.

What I have previously said with regard to Syro-Egyptian trade by sea would, I think, go equally well for the trade between Egypt and Palestine by land²). That is, while the earliest connections were

1) For a general introduction, cf. Perkins, *The Comparative Archeology of Early Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 43-45, 96, etc. After the Chalcolithic Period, Cilician connections were reorientated toward Anatolia rather than the east. For the effect of this on Palestine, cf. Albright, *Archeology of Palestine*. 2d ed., pp. 71-72.

2) That is, that the initiative for the earliest contacts lay in the north. A most provocative study of early Jericho has just been published by Anati in *BASOR* 167 (1962), 25-31, in which he suggests that early Jericho was a center for the gathering and processing of such raw materials as salt, sulphur and bitumen, all of which are found in the Dead Sea area. This would mean that in the seventh millennium B.C., the collecting of surplus products for trade was already under way in Palestine, long before the first towns were being built in Egypt. This is one more piece of evidence

the result of northern initiative, after a decline in foreign relations during the Second Dynasty, the absolute monarchs of the Third Dynasty resumed this trade under the authority of the Egyptian crown. The same internal political conditions would apply here as in the case of the sea-trade with Syria. Again I would note that this seems a particularly reasonable answer for the decline and ultimate extinction of Mesopotamian influence in Egypt which dies out after the First Dynasty. When Egypt took over her own foreign trade, her interest lay only in Palestine and the Syrian coast. There is no indication that Egyptian trade in western Asia ever went beyond these areas throughout the Pre- and Protodynastic Periods and the Old Kingdom.

D. The Products of Trade

As I have emphasized before, there are no commercial archives from Egypt and it is only from archeological remains, supplemented by plausible theories, that we can gain any picture of the kinds of products which were traded between Egypt and the east Mediterranean world. Or, I should say Syria-Palestine, since this is the only area in the east Mediterranean with which Egypt maintained direct trade connections. It is quite obvious from the preceding pages that timber represented a basic import from Syria from Predynastic times onward. Heavy beams were needed for, among other things, the internal construction of First Dynasty tombs and for the purpose of levering the gigantic blocks of stone used in Old Kingdom structures into place. Native Egyptian woods are not suitable for either purpose. The Egyptian building trade created a substantial demand for strong timbers and the increase in construction throughout the Old Kingdom brought a commensurate increase in the import of Syrian wood, primarily cedar and cypress.

Another import from Syria was cedar oil. One Syrian jug from a Giza tomb contained a dried resinous substance which was analyzed

which points to a Syro-Palestinian initiative being responsible for opening up the trade-routes to Egypt.

as resin from a coniferous tree ¹). We may also assume that other liquid products such as olive oil were among the products transported in the numerous flask-shaped pottery vessels which came into Egypt from earliest times. Timber and various oils and resins thus seem to be the chief imports from Syria. It is immediately apparent that such products would be destined for the use of the privileged classes, a feature which dominates Egyptian trade throughout the period to the close of the Old Kingdom. Under the strict centralization of Old Kingdom times, there was no opportunity for the masses of Egypt to share in the profits of foreign commercial enterprises. These were carried on by the state on behalf of the state and little, if any, of this bounty filtered down below the highest strata of society ²).

In return for Syrian woods, gums and oils, the products most likely to be used as exports from Egypt were stone vessels, copper, possibly gold, and other luxury items. Most of our information comes from Byblos, the focal point of Egyptian trade interests in Asia. Stone of various types is abundant in the Nile Valley and the stone vessel industry was already thriving in the Naqada I Period. The number of Egyptian stone bowls and fragments found at Byblos makes it unnecessary to argue in favor of the use of this class of object as an item of trade. Prior to the Third Dynasty, stone vessels are rare at Byblos which fits in with the suggestions made above; the Syro-Egyptian trade was not controlled by Egyptians until the advent of the Old Kingdom. But, during the Old Kingdom Period, there is a relative flood of stone

1) Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, p. 75.

2) One of the rare cases where Egyptian inscriptions offer solid evidence is in the use of oils and resins from Syria. Two of these, 'š and šfz, are listed frequently in Old Kingdom tombs; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, p. 8, note 1. Though Egyptian medical manuscripts do not ante-date the Middle Kingdom, there is ample evidence that the medicines they prescribe were being used in much earlier times. Both 'š and šfz are common ingredients in these remedies; von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenamen (Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter VI*; Berlin, 1959), pp. 109-11, 436-37. And the oils and resins of Syrian coniferous trees were commonly employed in mummification; Lucas, *JEA* 17 (1931), 13-21. All of these uses would be somewhat restricted to the wealthy classes since the poor would hardly be able to afford such items even for medicinal purposes.

vessels at Byblos which can only indicate that stone vessels now became a major Egyptian export.

We can hardly call it coincidence that Egyptian stone vessels begin to appear in Crete from the Third Dynasty on; in spite of the oft-repeated statement that Protodynastic Egypt was in contact with the Aegean, this does not seem to be the case (cf. pp. 27-31, above). I would rather suggest that, since Byblos was the terminus for Egyptian trade in the north, Egyptian stone vessels went to the Aegean in Syrian or Minoan ships as a valued item of commerce. Egyptian connections with the Aegean world would thus be indirect through the intermediary of Byblos. The evidence for this is not positive though it may be significant that no Egyptian term referring to the Aegean area has as yet been found in an Old Kingdom text¹). For the time being, it is best to doubt Egyptian sea voyages into the Aegean and leave the responsibility for the transfer of Egyptian objects to this area in the capable hands of Byblos. This does not place an undue strain on Byblian ability. At no other time in its long history was Byblos as large or as important than in the third millennium B.C. It would be eclipsed later on by Ras Shamra, and still later by Tyre and Sidon. But during those centuries contemporary to the Egyptian Old Kingdom, Byblos was the great port of the east Mediterranean coast.

Since it was during the Egyptian Protodynastic and Old Kingdom Periods that Byblos was growing into a huge commercial center with large private houses, temples and other public buildings, we may suggest another item which could have been imported from Egypt. The rapid growth of this city brought a need for luxury products and Egypt could supply some of these. Access to Nubia gave Egypt an important road to the south and we know that Egyptian ships were sailing to Punt in the Old Kingdom. This southern trade brought spices, rare woods like ebony, and similar items, into the sphere of Egyptian commerce and there is little doubt that some of this found its way into the lucrative trade with Byblos.

¹) See the pertinent chapters of Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Cairo, 1956).

Gold was probably also a means of payment since Egypt possessed this rare metal in considerable quantity. While Egyptian inscriptions do not speak of mining gold prior to the Twelfth Dynasty, the appearance of gold in deposits of the earlier periods shows that gold mining must have been carried on. The single gold bead of Protodynastic date found at Byblos is one slight indication that gold objects were actually used in trade. The absence of other gold objects at Byblos from these earlier periods is for obvious reasons; Byblos has been destroyed and rebuilt many times over the past few thousand years. Between the numerous destructions and the fact that gold would not be thrown away like broken pottery, and the like, we should not expect to find it.

Another metal which would be even more likely to have been an item of trade is copper. Having once gained control of the Sinai mines, Egyptian expeditions were able to bring back the enormous quantities of copper necessary for the building trade, for weapons, copper vessels, and so forth. Building a single pyramid or temple, for example, would require thousands of copper tools. The copper was smelted in Sinai itself, the raw copper transported to Egypt and refined and made into objects there. This copper, perhaps in the form of ingots or even as actual objects, would have been a logical item to send to the growing metropolis of Byblos. Here again, the frustrating lack of written documents prevents us from making more emphatic statements.

Whether grain and other agricultural products were used in trade in these early centuries is unknown. We know from later inscriptions that cereals and various fruits and vegetables were taken on long voyages—to Punt, for example—to pay for the products of foreign countries. It may be that grain, at least, was an export to the north in Old Kingdom times.

The exchange of products between Egypt and Syria was therefore a complimentary one, giving to each what it did not possess or could gain only by an effort which was outside its primary interests. Byblos, essentially a mercantile center, would no doubt find it much easier to import certain manufactured goods such as stone vessels or prepared raw materials such as ingots of copper. These two items could be

supplied by Egypt in quantity. On the other hand, one of the basic materials in construction is timber, a commodity Egypt used in great quantity but which was not to be had in the Nile Valley. Hence, a mutual exchange of surplusses brought Egypt and Byblos together in a commercial relationship that would last until the Egyptian Empire collapsed at least three millennia after the first Syrian coastal traders ventured down the coast to seek new markets in Predynastic Egypt.

Though we are interested here in direct commercial relations between Egypt and the north, it might be well to mention that imports do appear in Egypt from areas much farther afield than Syria-Palestine. I will note only lapis-lazuli, a material which is not native to Egypt¹⁾ but which is found in isolated examples from Predynastic times onward. Beads of lapis-lazuli are known from the later Naqada II Period and the First Dynasty²⁾, two fly amulets and a tubular object also come from the late Predynastic Period³⁾. A small protodynastic statuette from Hierakonpolis⁴⁾, decoration on jewelry of the Fourth Dynasty⁵⁾ and a seal of the Sixth Dynasty indicate that this material was considered a luxury item. Its use is quite restricted for the whole period⁶⁾. The origin of the lapis-lazuli used in Egypt has been given as Iran or Mesopotamia, but, according to Lucas, it must have come from northeast Afghanistan⁷⁾. This does not indicate a direct connection between Afghanistan and Egypt, of course, but is rather the result of several more local commercial transactions along the great complex of land-routes in the north⁸⁾.

1) Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, p. 455.

2) Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, p. 44; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, pp. 24-25; *Cultures II*, pp. 3, 10-11, 35; Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty III*, p. 81.

3) *Cultures II*, pp. 4, 75.

4) Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 5.

5) Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, p. 44.

6) Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

7) Lucas, *loc. cit.*, Cf. Leemans, *JESHO* 3 (1960), 35 ff., and *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, p. 34.

8) A general view of these broader, indirect trade connections is Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History*, Vol. I. Transl. by J. Stevens (Leiden, 1958), pp. 116 ff.



BRILL

Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Author(s): William A. Ward

Source: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Apr., 1964), pp. 1-45

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3596078>

Accessed: 03-05-2019 18:23 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Brill is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM¹⁾

BY

WILLIAM A. WARD

(Beirut)

The question of connections between Egypt and Mesopotamia has been studied by many scholars for several decades. There is no doubt that there were connections of some kind, though the problem has always been, and still is, the actual extent of these connections and the process by which they came about. Recent studies have shown that we cannot postulate with any certainty direct contacts for the period under consideration. Leemans, working from the standpoint of the Old Babylonian material, has concluded that it is "not plausible that

1) The following abbreviations are used throughout this article. Other abbreviations follow standard practise.

Asselberghs = Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing. Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* (Leiden, 1961).

Cultures = Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* Vol. I, rev. ed. (London, 1955); Vol. II (London, 1960).

Hayes, *Scepter* = Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*. 2 vols (New York, 1953-59).

Helck, *Beziehungen* = Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 2. und 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962).

Massoulard = Massoulard, *Préhistoire et protohistoire de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1949).

Perkins, *Comp. Arch.* = Perkins, *The Comparative Archeology of Early Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1949).

Porada, *Corpus* = *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*. Vol. I, Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Washington, 1948).

Rel. Chron. = Ehrich (ed), *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology* (Chicago, 1954).

Roy. Cem. = Woolley, *Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemeteries* (Philadelphia, 1934).

Tomb. Dev. = Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1936).

Vandier, *Manuel* = Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 3 vols. (Paris, 1952-58).

any trade occurred between Babylonia and Egypt in the Old Babylonian period otherwise than through several intermediaries" ¹⁾. Working from the standpoint of Egypt, I have concluded that direct Egyptian relations with Asia never extended beyond Palestine and western Syria from prehistoric times to the end of the Middle Kingdom ²⁾. It is thus apparent that both Babylonia and Egypt had definite spheres of influence in western Asia beyond which their direct interests did not go ³⁾. These spheres of influence did not come into direct contact.

The present study has not been undertaken simply to substantiate the fact that Egypt and Mesopotamia never came into direct contact prior to the mid-second millennium B.C. This is, of course, still a problem of major significance since the theory of a Sumerian invasion, or at least direct trade contacts, through the Wadi Hammamat is still being defended. That I cannot accept this theory will become clear in the following pages. There remains, however, the matter of accounting for the very clear evidence that there was some kind of contact between Egypt and Mesopotamia in the late Prehistoric period. But even here scholars have, in my opinion, given much more credit than is due to Mesopotamian influence on the development of early Egyptian civilization. Then too, much of the material presented to substantiate Egypto-Mesopotamian relations can be interpreted otherwise. It is therefore necessary to collect and re-study this material and determine just how useful it is in determining the extent of relations that existed between Egypt and Mesopotamia prior to the Egyptian Empire age. It is this re-evaluation of the available material which is the primary purpose of this paper.

1) Leemans, *JESHO* 3 (1960), 36, and *Foreign Trade*, p. 138 f.

2) Ward, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 22-45, 129-55; *JESHO* 6 (1963), 1-57.

3) Leemans, *JESHO* 3, p. 34, and *Foreign Trade*, p. 137 ff., concludes that direct trade from Babylonia extended only as far as the cities on the borders of the Mesopotamian plains.

I. FROM THE NAQADA I PERIOD TO THE APPEARANCE OF THE DYNASTIC RACE

A. *Supposed Relations in the Naqada I Period*

The question of contacts with Asia in the Predynastic Period is inseparably bound to the question of the development of Egyptian Predynastic culture. Indeed, the two questions are really one, since many scholars see in the sequence of Egyptian Predynastic cultures the direct action of outside influences, predominantly from western Asia. It is the last two Predynastic cultures—Naqada I and II—that will concern us here ¹).

It is now generally felt that the Naqada I culture belongs to an African substratum of Egyptian civilization with primary ties toward the south ²). Though Dr. E. Baumgartel also accepts this ³), she is convinced that the painted pottery tradition of Naqada I was of Iranian inspiration ⁴). Several scholars have criticized her ideas, both in general and in detail ⁵). For example, rows of zig-zag lines, triangles and squares are certainly not distinctive enough to warrant cultural borrowing ⁶). These are patterns of the simplest possible geometric design and, in themselves, do not constitute proof that the early Egyptian and Iranian cultures were related.

Mrs. Baumgartel suggests corroborative evidence to support that

1) The Semainean Culture, supposedly following Naqada II and immediately preceeding the historic age, did not really exist; cf. Kantor, *JNES* 3 (1944), 110-36. Naqada I and II are also known as Amratian and Gerzean. Throughout this study, I follow Miss Kantor and others in allowing for no separate period such as the vague "Dynasty O." I use the term "Late Predynastic" to indicate the late Naqada II age.

2) Scharff, *Die Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens* (AO 41, Leipzig, 1941) p. 12, 34; Scharff and Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich, 1950), p. 14; Massoulaud, p. 171; Kantor, *Rel. Chron.*, p. 3.

3) *Cultures* I, p. 24; II, p. 140.

4) *Cultures* I, pp. 54 ff., especially pp. 70-71. Herzfield, *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 94 and 101, hints at the same thing.

5) Kantor, *AJA* 53 (1949), 76-79; Vandier, *Manuel* I, pp. 291 ff.; Arkell, *Bib. Or.* 13 (1956), 123-27.

6) *Cultures* I, pp. 54-56, figs. 4-8. Gilbert, *Cd'E* 52 (1951), 225, also notes point-to-point squares as being a design of Mesopotamian origin.

of the geometric designs. Several of the patterns she notes "are complicated enough not to be natural products They were invented to convey a certain meaning" ¹⁾. Pottery designs, according to her, must have had magical significance, though this is now lost to us. Thus, in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, wavy lines were used as the hieroglyph for water. In both cases, these hieroglyphs supposedly go back to pottery designs which must have been intended to convey the same meaning. Such an argument cannot really stand up; a wavy line, or series of wavy lines, is the most obvious way of representing water in any culture. Nor is it necessary that wavy lines used as decoration on prehistoric pottery must mean "water", or indeed have any meaning at all, other than simple decoration.

Painted figures of hunters from Iran and Egypt are considered to be "very closely related to each other" ²⁾. This comparison also fails to stand up under detailed analysis ³⁾. Mrs. Baumgartel also suggests that certain pottery types are common to both Egypt and Iran at this time ⁴⁾. These are, however, simple shapes and none is distinctive enough to really be acceptable as evidence of a connection between the two areas. Simple cups with slanted sides, or goblets with flaring feet are too ordinary to be considered proof that the Naqada I culture was closely related to prehistoric Iran. Then too, there is a chronological problem. Mrs. Baumgartel uses comparative material from Naqada I, Susa I and Sialk II though the latter two, according to McCown, are contemporary to the Warka and Halaf periods, respectively ⁵⁾.

A final piece of evidence produced by Mrs. Baumgartel is "one of their (Naqada I people) sea-going boats, painted on a jar" which is "of the type of Red Sea Craft to which Frankfort first drew attention" ⁶⁾. This so-called Red Sea Craft is shown on numerous documents

1) *Cultures I*, p. 59.

2) *Cultures I*, p. 64, fig. 13.

3) Cf. Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 293-94.

4) *Cultures I*, p. 68, fig. 18.

5) McCown, *Rel. Chron.*, p. 67. Throughout this essay, McCown emphasizes the uncertainties in dating Iranian sites and the lack of sufficient evidence to produce more than theories.

6) *Cultures I*, p. 71.

from early Egypt, but since the appearance of these supposedly foreign craft is of greater importance to the Naqada II Period, this particular subject will be discussed below (pp. 29 ff.). Also discussed below is the problem of the piriform mace-head, a type which may have made its appearance in Egypt during the Naqada I Period (pp. 14 ff.).

Taken as a whole, the supposed Asiatic connections of the Naqada I culture are more apparent than real. The "similarities" between Egypt and Iran can be considered the products of two independent cultures which were not in contact with each other. One would not be inclined to judge this material so harshly were it not for the fact that the theory of Egypto-Iranian relations is based on simple geometric designs, superficial resemblances in elementary pottery types, and the like. Nor can Mrs. Baumgartel's historical interpretation be admitted. According to her, the Obeid culture of Mesopotamia and the Naqada I culture of Egypt were both strongly influenced by Iran; Egypt received this influence directly from Iran. "It seems possible that this culture reached Egypt *via* the Straits of Aden and followed the upper course of the Nile; but this is pure conjecture, for nothing is known about the prehistory of the countries that might have formed the bridge between Asia and Africa" ¹). Such a connection by sea is, I feel, completely out of the question.

Such negative conclusions may not be applicable if we think in terms of artistic influence from the northern Obeid culture arriving in Egypt *via* trade through Syria. It is possible that, through an exhaustive study of the material now available, an indirect contact between the north Obeid culture of Mesopotamia and the Naqada I culture of Egypt can eventually be postulated. The Obeid painted pottery style, or at least a variant tradition, is known as far west as Ras Shamra and the Amouq Valley. If we must insist on some kind of Asiatic influence on the painted pottery tradition of Naqada I times, this would seem the more likely route. However, in the present state of our knowledge, I feel it is incorrect to suppose even an indirect connection with Mesopotamia in this period. The evidence would still consist of very elementary

¹) *Cultures* I, pp. 70-71; note Arkell's remarks in *Bib. Or.* 13 (1956), 124.

geometric designs and much more positive proof is needed. While I do not think it likely, the possibility must at least be left open for further research.

B. Relations in the Naqada II Period

It is during the Naqada II Period that the first positive contacts with Asia can be seen¹). From the very beginning of this age, spouted jars based on a Mesopotamian prototype appear in Egyptian deposits and continue to appear to the end of the period²). Another Mesopotamian pottery type—large bowls with four triangular lugs joined by an incised band of decoration—appears in late Naqada II deposits³). This pottery—along with the loop-handled cups noted below and several cylinder seals, one or two of which may be Egyptian copies of Mesopotamian prototypes⁴)—represent the sum total of Mesopotamian objects in Egypt during the Naqada II Period. This material fixes beyond reasonable doubt the relative chronological position of these early cultures: early Naqada II=Protoliterate a-b, late Naqada II=Protoliterate c-d.

Miss Kantor strongly denies any connection between the typical bevelled-rim bowls of Protoliterate Mesopotamia and similar, though much cruder, ware of Naqada II⁵). This connection was made by Mallowan who suggests some kind of international votive ritual using this bowl type⁶). Mrs. Baumgartel⁷) and Burton-Brown also accept this identification⁸). However, while Burton-Brown suggests that bevelled-rim bowls were imported into Egypt at the beginning of the Dynastic Period and used commonly until the end of the Old Kingdom,

1) As noted at several points in the present article, there are hints at relations during the Naqada I Period but these are still not sufficient to be conclusive.

2) Kantor, *JNES* 11 (1952), 249-50. and *Rel. Chron.*, p. 4; *Cultures* I, p. 91.

3) Kantor, *JNES* 11 (1952), 250, and *Rel. Chron.*, pp. 5-6; *Cultures* I, p. 90.

4) Kantor, *JNES* 11 (1952), 239 ff.

5) Kantor, *Rel. Chron.*, p. 6.

6) Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), 222, pl. 66. 4.

7) *Cultures* I, pp. 93-94.

8) Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History* (London, 1946), pp. 36 ff.

the examples he quotes are classed by Petrie as being of a very crude local manufacture¹).

Other supposed connections between Egypt and Mesopotamia during this period are equally as unacceptable. For example, Gilbert has proposed a connection between the "animal concert" on a harp from Ur and a masked figure playing a flute on a small Predynastic palette²). Even accepting the lowest possible chronology for Egypt, the two objects are separated by three or four centuries. Then too, the scene on the Ur harp is made up of real animals, probably only with comic significance, while the Egyptian figure is that of a man wearing a mask, undoubtedly performing a cultic rite having to do with hunting.

At this point, it is necessary to return to Mrs. Baumgartel's theories about the Asiatic origin for the painted pottery traditions of Egypt³). Just as she has proposed an Asiatic origin for the painted pottery of the Naqada I culture, the same is proposed for Naqada II⁴). Generally speaking, her case is much better for Naqada II. Certain of her connections would certainly seem to be valid. The pattern dividing the vase into vertical stripes⁵) and the fan-shaped tree in an ellipse⁶) are certainly distinctive enough to be considered evidences of some kind of relationship between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Other motives such as rows of animals⁷), the pentagram⁸), a spiral⁹) and simple geometric

1) Petrie, *Royal Tombs I* (London, 1900), p. 29, pl. 43. 149-50.

2) Gilbert, *Cd'É* 52 (1951), 232; for the harp from Ur, cf. *Roy. Cem.*, pl. 104; for the Egyptian palette, cf. Asselberghs, pl. 128.

3) I should note that my disagreements with Mrs. Baumgartel's books are confined mainly to her broad theories about the origins of Egyptian Predynastic culture. Otherwise, these two volumes are of immense value and my criticisms here, limited to the realm of foreign relations, do not adequately portray my genuine admiration of them.

4) *Cultures I*, pp. 71 ff. A Mesopotamian origin for the idea of painting designs on pottery, particularly boats with shrines, is supported by Arkell in *Antiquity* 33 (1959), 52-53. 5) *Cultures I*, fig. 24.

6) *Cultures I*, fig. 27; this motive is also found on cylinder seals, for example, Frankfort, *Stratified Seals of the Dyala Region* (Chicago, 1955), No. 80.

7) *Cultures I*, fig. 22.

8) *Cultures I*, p. 74; noted also by Mackay, *Excavations at Jemdet Nasr. Field Mus. Anthropol. Mem. I*, 3 (Chicago, 1931), p. 254, pl. 68. 8.

9) *Cultures I*, fig. 26.

designs such as rows of triangles are too liable of independent invention to be used as proof of foreign connections.

Of actual pottery types, Mrs. Baumgartel notes those already listed above, but strangely seeks to discount Miss Kantor's attempt to connect three loop-handled cups found in Egypt with contemporary Palestinian pottery. "Following Petrie, she (Miss Kantor) wishes to equate them with Palestinian forms of which the handles only are preserved. It is doubtful whether such an equation on such a slender basis should be attempted"¹⁾. The recent excavations at Jericho, however, have yielded scores of these loop-handled cups²⁾ and Miss Kantor's suggestion must now stand. M. Dothan studied this type in 1953 with some interesting results: this style is foreign to Egypt (as all authorities agree) and does not appear before Naqada II times. Similar cups are known from Mesopotamia in the Warka and Protoliterate Periods, contemporary deposits in Lebanon and in Palestine, beginning with the late Chalcolithic age³⁾. On the origin of this type, Dothan hesitatingly suggests Mesopotamia and notes: "it seems hardly conceivable that the spread of this strange form from Mesopotamia to Egypt could have occurred without intermediate stations. It seems that the transmission was through Palestine, and took place not later than the Protoliterate Period"⁴⁾. Thus, while Mrs. Baumgartel is able to see a connection between the Mesopotamian and Egyptian examples of this pottery type, thereby lending support to her overseas invasion theory, we can now broaden our horizons a bit and trace this type through Syria-Palestine as well. This is an important point, having significance for the route by which Egypto-Mesopotamian relations may have occurred.

In her discussion of stone vessels, Mrs. Baumgartel points out some

1) *Cultures I*, p. 94.

2) Kenyon, *Jericho I* (Jerusalem, 1960), figs. 12-13, Proto-urban A Period. If this connection is valid, it adds one more piece of evidence to the discussion of the early chronology of the Near East. Carbon 14 dating for the tomb in which this pottery was found gives a date of 3260 ± 110 (p. 25). This would thus be another indication of the approximate date for the Naqada II Period and support the high chronology for Predynastic Egypt; cf. Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 3, note 2.

3) Dothan, *PEQ* 1953, 132-37.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 137.

highly interesting parallels¹⁾. I have already shown that Egyptian stone vessels must have been used for export from very early times²⁾, though there are substantial difficulties in trying to point out specific examples from Mesopotamia that may have originated in Egypt. Some of the similarities are striking, especially between Egyptian vessels and those of Arpachiyya, Uruk and Telloh. But there are certain problems involved here which cannot be solved at the present time. Chronologically, there is a discrepancy (noted by Mrs. Baumgartel) since most of the Egyptian types which have counterparts in Mesopotamia come from the first three dynasties while the Mesopotamian material is earlier. To make really positive identification, one would have to compare methods of manufacture and analyze materials, specialized studies which have not yet been undertaken. Like Mrs. Baumgartel, I am convinced that the stone vessels, properly studied, would be of great value to our knowledge of foreign relations in these early periods. But this would necessarily involve an examination of the actual objects and a search for the original source for the material used as well as a study of the processes involved in making them. Until such studies have been made, we must set aside possible evidence from stone vessels³⁾.

One type of object which many have considered a Mesopotamian import into Egypt may in reality be originally Egyptian. This is the scalloped or crescentic axe-head⁴⁾, the earliest Egyptian example of which is found on a Late Predynastic stone vase fragment depicting a warrior brandishing an axe which is clearly of this type⁵⁾. Examples

1) *Cultures* I, pp. 102 ff.

2) Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 54 ff.

3) Cf. Reisner, *Antiquity* 5 (1931), 200-12, who studied several stone vessels from Mesopotamia having similarities to Egyptian vessels and concluded that all were of Sumerian manufacture. These include the cylinder jar which Mrs. Baumgartel feels must be Egyptian; *Cultures* I, p. 115. Cylinder jars are found frequently in Mesopotamia, but Reisner was convinced the type could easily have developed independently in both places.

4) Cf. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Bloomington, 1951), p. 109, for a list of such motives, etc.

5) Shown in Schafer, *Von Ägyptischer Kunst*. 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1930), pl. 3. 3; Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926), fig. 13; Smith, *A History of*

of the scalloped axe-head are known from Egypt from this time to the Middle Kingdom¹). Rare examples come from Palestine²) and a few are known from Mesopotamia³). Stronach has studied this type of axe⁴) and concludes that it originated in Mesopotamia during the Early Dynastic Period, was copied in Early Bronze Syria-Palestine and arrived in Anatolia in the last two or three centuries of the third millennium because of a diffusion of Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian forms. He strangely does not take the Egyptian examples into account. When Frankfort originally proposed the example on the Predynastic stone sherd as showing Mesopotamian influence, he noted that this type of weapon was only adopted in Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom, but had been known in Mesopotamia from the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period and "possibly" earlier⁵). However, there does not seem to be any evidence that this type of axe existed prior to the Early Dynastic Period in Mesopotamia or the late Early Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine. It is a tenuous argument, but the appearance of a clear example of this style of axe, borne by an Egyptian (or possibly a Libyan, certainly not a Semite), in the Late Predynastic Period would stand in favor of this weapon being of North African and not Mesopotamian origin. In this case, we would finally have an example of Mesopotamian borrowing from Egypt at this early age; the lack of such Mesopotamian borrowings has been noted by all who have studied the subject.

One attempt to show an Egyptian artistic theme in early Mesopota-

Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom. 2d ed. (Boston, 1949), fig. 35. This fragment, now in the Berlin Museum is of the Late Predynastic Period.

1) Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (London, 1917), p. 9, pl. 6.1 (Old Kingdom); Brunton, *Qau and Badari I* (London, 1927), pl. 38.12 (First Int. Per.); Ranke, *Egyptian Collections of the University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1950), fig. 47 (First Int. Per.); Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 185 (Middle Kingdom).

2) Kenyon, *Jericho I*, fig. 66. 1 (EB III). Miss Kenyon feels that this type is dated ca. 2400-2200 B.C. (p. 179).

3) *Roy Cem.*, pl. 224, Types A12-13. Woolley suggests (p. 306) that the origin of this type is Anatolia, though this cannot be correct; Mackay, *The "A" Cemetery at Kish. Field Mus. Anthropol. Mem. I*, 1 (Chicago, 1925), p. 39, pl. 17.8

4) Stronach, *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 122-25.

5) Frankfort, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 357.

mian art has been made by Gilbert. In discussing animals with long necks in Egypt and Sumer¹⁾, Gilbert concludes that the long-necked animal motive was originally Egyptian since (1) the original animal involved was the giraffe, an African animal, (2) the entwined necks form a space for mixing paint in Egyptian examples, giving this motive a practical use not found in Mesopotamian art, (3) the particular rendition of the motive on the Narmer Palette "préfigure la ligature des plantes héraldiques de Haute et de Basse Égypte"²⁾, and (4) the relatively longer time this symbol was in use in Egypt. None of these reasons is conclusive. Giraffes are never shown with entwined necks, though the entwined necks are part of the theme everywhere it is found in Mesopotamia. The purely decorative use to which this design was put in Mesopotamia and the practical use in Egypt can be accounted for by the types of monuments on which it appears: palettes in Egypt, cylinder seals in Mesopotamia. That the motive on the Narmer Palette may anticipate the floral symbol of union would be acceptable on psychological grounds, but one wonders why, if the animals were in reality an Egyptian motive, they were not kept in later art. Finally, Gilbert assumes a long usage in Egyptian art on the bases of the symbol of the town of Cusae: a man standing on the backs of two long-necked animals with panther-like heads³⁾. Granted that the Cusae symbol may well be a later echo of a Predynastic theme, this does not shed any light on the origin of this theme. A borrowed artistic motive may be used in the borrowing country long after it has gone out of style in its country of origin. It is significant that this theme appears on cylinder seals of the Uruk Period which makes the theme a great deal older in

1) Gilbert, *Cd'É* 43 (1947), 38 ff.

2) On the Narmer Palette, two men hold ropes attached to the entwined necks of panther-headed creatures. The entwined floral symbol of union is often so held by two figures: cf. Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1920), fig. 130 (throne of Neusserre).

3) Cf. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir I* (London, 1914), p. 1, note 3, who also points out a possible relation to the panther-headed creatures on the Narmer Palette. For several examples of the Cusae symbol, cf. *ibid.* II (London, 1915), pl. 17.

Mesopotamia than in Egypt¹). Because of an incorrect chronological synchronism, Gilbert missed this point²).

To this point, I have dealt with major items indicating some kind of connection between Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Naqada II Period and at the very beginning of the historic age. While I do not consider a few of these items to be valid, there is enough evidence to prove that there was definitely a connection between the two areas³). Before examining the question of how this connection came about, however, there are a few isolated objects which should be mentioned as well as the troublesome problems of the piriform mace-head and the

1) Porada, *Corpus*, No. 1. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 40, notes that this theme appears only in the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods in Mesopotamia. Since the earliest Egyptian examples come from the Late Predynastic Period, present evidence will not support a borrowing from Egypt. We should also consider the possibility that the giraffe motive was a local development and may have no relationship to the animals with entwined necks at all. The only foreign influence one can really see here is the giraffe in antithetical pairs, a feature characteristic of Mesopotamian, but not Egyptian, art. Finally, perhaps the entwined serpents motive is also related. This theme appears on several Late Predynastic knife handles (Asselberghs, pls. 33-36) and is also common in Mesopotamian art. Note the entwined lion-headed snakes on a cylinder seal of the Early Dynastic Period: Porada, *Corpus*, No. 62. With the exception of the giraffe which is native to Africa, which does not fit the category of fabulous animals and which is not found with entwined necks, a Mesopotamian origin for the mythological creatures with long entwined necks seems much more plausible.

2) In a later article dealing with artistic comparisons — *Cd'E* 52 (1951), 225 ff. — Gilbert begins with the statement: "le point de départ est très net; il faut le tenir pour établi que l'unification de la Haute et de la Basse Egypte en un seul royaume répond au passage de la période d'Ourouk à celle de Djemdet Nasr en Mesopotamie". It is impossible to make such a synchronism in the light of the increasing evidence that the Jemdet Nasr Period is contemporary to the late Naqada II Period.

3) At one time, Von Bissing could say: "Ich glaube also nicht zu viel zu sagen, wenn ich das Ergebnis unserer eingehenden Prüfung aller ernst zu nehmenden Beweise für eine weitergehende Abhängigkeit der archaischen ägyptischen Kunst von der elamischen oder mesopotamischen dahin zusammenfasse, dass kein einziger solcher Beweis sich als stichhaltig erwiesen hat. Ob im fünften und vierten Jahrtausend irgendein direkter oder nennenswerter indirekter Einfluss, irgendeine Berührung zwischen den Flussgebieten des Nil und des Euphrat und Tigris stattgefunden hat, ist auf archäologischen Wege nicht zu entscheiden; einzig unsere fortschreitende geschichtliche Kenntniss konnte hier sichere Tatsachen schaffen". *AfO* 5 (1928-29), 75-76. Such positive denials of Egypto-Mesopotamian relations are now no longer possible.

sudden appearance of niched panelled architecture in the First Dynasty.

Mallowan has suggested that a connection with Egypt may be found in two objects of the early Jemdet Nasr Period from Tell Brak. The first is a kidney-shaped seal of black serpentine which contains a stylized lizard in its design ¹⁾. This he connects with a cylinder found at Abydos which has three similar figures ²⁾. A seated monkey of alabaster ³⁾ shows some similarity to those found at Abydos ⁴⁾. Neither of these objects can be used without qualification as evidence of an Egyptian connection with northern Iraq. The lizard motive is one that could be copied from nature in both places and neither the seal from Brak nor the cylinder from Egypt were imported. The seated monkey has a possible connection through Byblos where similar figures were found ⁵⁾. There is no need to emphasize here the Egyptian connection with Byblos from very early times; it is just possible that the Brak figurine actually did come originally from Egypt *via* Byblos. There is still a chronological difficulty, however, in that the Jemdet Nasr age is contemporary to late Naqada II and the Egyptian monkeys from Abydos are of the early Protodynastic Period. Then too, as Mallowan indicates, the monkey seems to be quite prominent at Brak and the figurine under consideration is certainly not unique in subject matter at that site.

A small ivory figurine carved from the tip of a tusk has been described as a woman in a long flounced skirt, dated to the early Naqada II Period and connected to female figurines wearing flounced skirts in Crete and Mesopotamia ⁶⁾. However, this object was not found in excavations and the description of the carving as a woman in a flounced skirt is open to question. This carving might actually represent something else and,

1) Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), 121, pl. 17.15. Mallowan notes examples from Uruk and Ur, though these are of more realistic style.

2) Petrie, *Abydos I* (London, 1902), p. 23, pl. 51—11. Petrie calls these figures crocodiles.

3) Mallowan, *op. cit.*, p. 97, pl. 7.6.

4) Petrie, *Abydos II* (London, 1903), pl. 4.9; *ibid.* I, pl. 53.

5) Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), No. 176.

6) Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1920), p. 7, pl. 1.3; Thomas, *Ancient Egypt* 1933, 89 ff.

in any case, Petrie's date of S.D. 45 is based purely on the fact that figurines carved from tusks are known from this period. There are far too many questions about this figurine to consider it as a possible link between Egypt and Mesopotamia¹). Finally, Contenau's suggestion that the Hathor heads on the Narmer Palette are similar to bull's heads from Ur is out of the question²) as is his suggestion that a seal from Warka showing a king vanquishing his enemies must be related to the traditional theme of Pharaoh smiting his enemies³).

C. *The Piriform Mace-Head*

One class of object, the piriform mace-head, is constantly used as proof of foreign relations, either between cultures in western Asia or between Asia and Egypt. The seemingly sudden appearance of the piriform mace-head in Egypt in the Naqada II Period and the fact that this style of mace apparently replaced the disc-shaped mace-head of Naqada I times have led to the conclusion that this class of object was borrowed from some foreign source⁴). In reality, the piriform mace-head did not appear suddenly and the two types seem to have been

1) Mrs. Baumgartel (*Cultures II*, p. 69) wishes to see a connection between female figurines from Egypt which have heads "roughly shaped like that of a bird" and female figurines from Sumer which have heads of "similar" shape. The Mesopotamian figurines come from the Obeid and Warka Periods, the Egyptian from Naqada I, so this is acceptable chronologically. However, the Mesopotamian figurines have reptilian heads, not avian; cf. Parrot, *Sumer (Arts of Mankind Series; Paris 1960)*, figs. 74-77. (A connection between these Mesopotamian figurines and *Badarian* figurines is suggested by Massouard, p. 125.) There is no real artistic resemblance between these figurines and, beyond the motive of a female figure with a non-human head probably denoting some mythological or magical concept, there is no other feature of these figurines which warrants comparison.

2) Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale III* (Paris, 1931), p. 1591: "cette même tête de vache a été retrouvée en cuivre dans les tombes royales d'Our". The chronology, of course, is impossible and the bull's heads from Ur can have no connection with the Hathor-heads of Egypt.

3) *Ibid.*, IV (Paris, 1947), p. 2063. The Warka seal (p. 1972, fig. 1069), is unrelated to Egyptian art either in style or theme. The concept of a king destroying his enemies is universal to all cultures which practise absolute kingship.

4) Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), 96; *Cultures II*, pp. 110-11; Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (New York, 1952), p. 72; etc.

contemporary for some time ¹). As the following discussion will show, the piriform mace-head is well documented from the whole Near East and it is impossible to offer any judgement as to the origin of this type, if indeed there was a single place of origin at all.

The distribution, both chronological and geographical, of this class of object is vast. The Appendix to the present article gives a representative list of find-spots in western Asia, including Iran, Iraq, Syria and Palestine. Elsewhere in the ancient world, round or ovoid mace-heads seem to be characteristic of early Anatolia ²), though one possible piriform mace-head comes from Early Bronze Alishar ³) and a splendid specimen in copper was found at Tarsus ⁴). Examples are known from Crete ⁵), Early Bronze Macedonia ⁶) and the Indus Valley ⁷).

In Egypt, piriform mace-heads as actual weapons are found primarily in the Naqada II and Protodynastic Periods; examples have been found at several sites in Upper Egypt ⁸). Several specimens from Merimde which may be earlier are discussed below. Large ceremonial piriform mace-heads appear at the beginning of the historic age ⁹) and examples

1) Piriform and disc-shaped mace-heads have been found together in the same graves: *Cultures II*, p. 111; Vandier, *Manuel I*, p. 330. Both types were still in use as weapons in Protodynastic times; Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Penguin, 1961), pp. 114-15.

2) Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 8 (1958), 149 (Hacilar); Mellaart, *Anat. St.* 12 (1962), 55 (Çatal Hüyük); Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin* (Oxford, 1952), figs. 8 and 96; Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük. Seasons of 1930-32. Part I* (Chicago, 1937), figs. 90 and 187.

3) Von der Osten, *op. cit.*, fig. 187, shows a mace-head which might be termed piriform. Note also fig. 270, No. d1039, which is a fragment of what could be a piriform mace-head, though the author states it is of a type known in previous periods which are round or ovoid (p. 258).

4) Goldman, *Tarsus II* (Princeton, 1956), p. 273, No. 78, fig. 420. This is apparently intrusive in a Middle Bronze context.

5) Evans, *The Palace of Minos I* (London, 1921), figs. 3k and 7b; Pendelbury, *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, 1930), pl. 26.

6) Heurtly, *Prehistoric Macedonia* (Cambridge, 1939), fig. 64.

7) Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization II* (London, 1931), p. 459; *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro I* (New Delhi, 1938), p. 399. Piriform mace-heads seem to be unknown at Chanhudaro; cf. Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations 1935-36* (New Haven, 1943), p. 225.

8) Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pp. 22-23; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pp. 114-15; Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pls. 32.69, 38.85-87, 41.95; *Cultures II*, pp. 110 ff.

9) Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 600 ff.

are known as late as the reign of Khafre¹). Other examples, probably also of ceremonial use, have been found in Middle Kingdom tombs²). Though there is clear evidence that this type of mace was actually used as a weapon in early times³), there is no way of determining when it was discarded in practical use. It is the piriform mace-head, of course, which is always shown in the traditional Egyptian theme of the Pharaoh smiting his enemies, but this is due to the traditions of art rather than actual fact.

From the foregoing summary, it is obvious that it is most difficult to offer any theory about the origin of the piriform mace-head that would stand up against critical analysis. This type of mace-head appears in Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Syria-Palestine at about the same time (see Appendix), though we are dealing with a relative chronology and there is no way of telling which find-spot is the earlier. The earliest example in Mesopotamia seems to be that from Tepe Gawra XII which falls at the end of the Obeid Period. Many examples are dated to the Warka and Protoliterate Periods, with some also from the Early Dynastic Period. It may be significant that the examples quoted from Iran are contemporary to the Obeid Period, though again we have only a relative chronology and it would be useless to postulate an Iranian origin for the piriform mace-head on this basis. Piriform mace-heads are found widely distributed in Palestine during the Chalcolithic age and then, sporadically, throughout the Bronze Age. From published finds, then, it would appear that this class of object had its most extensive use in western Asia and Egypt in the later centuries of the fourth millennium and the early centuries of the third.

The earliest appearance of the piriform mace-head in Egypt, a crucial point in the present discussion, is still a matter of debate. It has long been known that this was a characteristic feature of the Naqada II and

1) Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* (London, 1917), pl. 8, No. 4.3.11; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 66.3.

2) Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), p. 102; Hayes, *Scepter I*, pp. 282-83.

3) For example, the hunters on the Lion-hunt Palette carry piriform maces; Asselberghs, fig. 122.

Protodynastic Periods; the oldest example which can be dated according to Petrie's Sequence Dating comes from early Naqada II times (S.D. 42). But we now have to take into consideration a dozen examples from the Lower Egyptian settlement at Merimde. This site has generally been termed Neolithic and considered the next advanced stage in the culture of northern Egypt after Fayum A ¹). Several features in the Merimde culture would seem to make it contemporary to the southern Naqada I culture ²). However, Mrs. Baumgartel, working on the similarities she finds in the flint and pottery industries of Merimde and Naqada II, has made these two cultures contemporary. One of her reasons for so stating is that piriform mace-heads, characteristic of the Naqada II culture, were found at Merimde ³). Her dating of Merimde is not at all proven and has not gone unchallenged ⁴). Typologically, the Merimde assemblage stands between Fayum A and Maadi; the former is generally considered contemporary to the Badarian culture of Upper Egypt, the latter contemporary to Naqada II ⁵). Hence, the Merimde material should fit somewhere in the Naqada I range. One cannot be dogmatic about this, however, since the evidence from the north is restricted to only a few sites. Still, the preponderance of the evidence and scholarly opinion is that the Merimde culture is roughly

1) A resumé of the excavations is given in Vandier, *Manuel* I, pp. 95-153. Junker's excavation reports are not available to me.

2) Round huts, bag-shaped pottery and model human feet on pottery vessels are common to both Merimde and Naqada I. The latter is a distinctive feature found only during the Naqada I Period in the south and only at Merimde in the north.

3) *Cultures* I and II, *passim*, especially I, pp. 14 ff. She concludes (p. 18): "The beginning of the Merimde settlement must have taken place at a time when the Naqada II Culture was already well established in Upper Egypt. This date is supported by the occurrence of the pear-shaped mace-head typical of Naqada II".

4) Vandier, *Manuel* I, pp. 181 ff.; Kantor, *AJA* 53 (1949), 76-79.

5) Here again, Mrs. Baumgartel disagrees, placing Fayum A contemporary to Naqada I (*Cultures* I, p. 16) and Maadi in the First Dynasty (*Cultures* I, p. 121). However, the appearance of Palestinian lugged pots and loop-handled cups at both Maadi and at Naqada II sites is an excellent argument for Maadi being contemporary to the Naqada II Period. Arkell, *Bib. Or.* 13 (1956), 125, disagrees completely with placing Fayum A contemporary to Naqada I. Finally, the similarities between Badarian, Fayum A and Merimde are close enough to make them all related; Kantor, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

contemporary to Naqada I. This would mean that piriform mace-heads are not restricted to Naqada II times and that, if this type of object was borrowed from elsewhere, the borrowing was done in the Naqada I Period ¹).

Whether or not the opposite should be considered—that the piriform mace-head was originally an Egyptian weapon and was borrowed by western Asia—remains an open question. In spite of the objections to Merimde as a contemporary to the Naqada I Period, I do not see how we can conclude otherwise. This would mean that the piriform mace-head appeared in Egypt at least as early as it did in western Asia. It also means that the piriform mace-head was not an object brought into Egypt during Naqada II times when a definite connection with western Asia can be established. That this class of weapon makes its first appearance in Lower Egypt may perhaps be significant in that the obvious route between western Asia and Egypt would be from Syria by sea or Palestine by land. Whether such a route existed at this early date cannot now be proven due to the lack of sufficient Upper Egyptian material.

There is a third possibility, that the piriform mace-head could have been developed indigenously in several places. Tobler suggests that this is what may have happened at Tepe Gawra. The mace-heads from levels XVIII-XI (Obeid Period) are predominantly of a squat spheroid shape. Piriform mace-heads begin to appear in level XII (end of Obeid Period) and continue into the Warka Period. Tobler feels that the squat spheroid shape of the earlier levels could have developed into the piriform and barrel shapes of the later levels ²). The development of one type of mace-head into another has also been suggested by Arkell for two sites in Nubia. At Shaheinab, the flat-topped mace-heads of that site were evolved from stones used to grind ochre ³). And sandstone

1) Such a conclusion would force a complete restudy of the Naqada I culture with the aim of determining whether or not there were any trade relations with Palestine at this time. A hint that such might be the case comes from the possible connections with the Beersheba Culture (cf. p. XX, note X, below), though nothing definite can yet be established.

2) Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra II* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 203-04.

3) Arkell, *Shaheinab* (Oxford, 1953), p. 49.

rings may have developed into disc-shaped mace-heads at Khartoum ¹).

Whether such a development can be postulated for piriform mace-heads in Egypt is completely a matter of hypothesis. Certainly, the various steps in such a process could be suggested from the existing material. The disc-shaped mace-head—which is not a true disc at all, but has a pyramidal base with concave sides ²)—could have evolved into the flat-topped type with convex sides ³), and this could have developed into the spheroid, round and piriform shapes. But no such theory can be proven because of the lack of dated examples. Very few mace-heads of any type can be given a Sequence Date and it is therefore impossible to suggest any sequence of development from one type to another which can be verified by dated examples.

Of the three possibilities, I prefer the last. The piriform shape is not so distinctive that it could not have been invented in several places. There is, at present, no real reason to believe that this class of object was borrowed either by Egypt from western Asia or vice-versa.

D. Mesopotamian Nched Brick Architecture in Egypt

One of Frankfort's greatest contributions in the field of foreign relations was his demonstration that the nched brick architecture which became so popular in Egypt in the Protodynastic Period, had its origin in Mesopotamia and is a clear case of cultural borrowing ⁴). Frankfort's thesis is simple; there are no antecedents in Egypt for the complicated nched facades of First Dynasty tombs, while the development of such architecture can be traced back many centuries prior to this period in Mesopotamia. As Frankfort states ⁵):

the first generation of Egyptians to use bricks on any scale at all was at the same time familiar with every refinement of which the material was capable It was not merely the use of bricks that appears to have been adopted under the First Dynasty but the use of bricks in a definite application to a very specific type of

1) Arkell, *Early Khartoum* (Oxford, 1949), p. 107.

2) *Cultures* II, p. 106; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 35.22.

3) *Ibid.*, pl. 36.49-52.

4) Frankfort, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 329-58.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 334.

building, namely, to structures decorated all round with graduated recesses. And it is precisely this advanced and sophisticated type of brick building which is found in Mesopotamia during the period when contact with Egypt is known by a great deal of evidence to have taken place.

Frankfort's theory of the derivation of Egyptian niched facades has not gone unchallenged and there are many who see no connection between the Mesopotamian and Egyptian examples. Ricke insists, on architectural grounds, that there are sufficient differences between them to warrant the conclusion of independent invention¹⁾. Helck, rightly stressing the fact that there could not have been direct connections between Sumer and Egypt, also denies any relationship between the niched facades of Mesopotamia and those of Egypt. He feels that such a connection would automatically imply a direct contact²⁾. Many authorities refuse to take sides³⁾ or suggest some indirect connection between architectural forms whose similarity "is too obvious to be ignored"⁴⁾.

This particular problem, however, is much more complicated than a simple comparison of Egyptian mastabas with Sumerian temple walls. There are many who see in the niched brick mastabas of the earliest dynasties a reproduction of a palace facade, also shown in the *serekh* motive which enclosed the Horus-name of the king⁵⁾. Since the *serekh* already appears on monuments at least contemporary to the oldest mastabas with niched facades⁶⁾, the conclusion is that royal palaces once existed, probably made of wood, which had elaborately niched facades and gateways. While no trace of such palaces exists, it is assumed from the *serekh* that they once did and that the niched facades of the

1) Quoted by Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 7. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Penguin, 1958), p. 18, also suggests this.

2) Helck, *loc. cit.*

3) Vandier, *Manuel I*, p. 699, note 4.

4) Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 177.

5) Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London, 1961), p. 52; Vandier, *Manuel I*, p. 595; Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 50; Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 18. Mrs. Baumgartel (*Cultures II*, pp. 147-48) insists the *serekh* is not a building but a throne.

6) For example, on a slate palette: Asselberghs, fig. 170; Hayes *Scepter I*, fig. 22

early mastabas and the decoration of sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom as well as the "false door" are all based on this original palace facade.

Approaching this whole question from the standpoint of religious *vis à vis* secular architecture, Reisner came to different conclusions¹⁾. The *serekh*, to him, represents not a facade but only the main entrance to the palace or a similar entrance in the outer wall surrounding the palace. The niching on the mastabas is derived, at least in meaning, from a different source. Reisner assumes that Predynastic tomb superstructures (of which none survive) were probably built of mounds of loose gravel surrounded by a retaining wall of wattle or wood; built into this retaining wall was a single *ka*-door through which communication between the living and the dead was made. When brick replaced wood, this *ka*-door was maintained as part of the structure. The elaborately niched mastabas simply had *ka*-doors all round in a series of great *ka*-doors separated by groups of three ordinary *ka*-doors. The *ka*-doors themselves may well have been copied from actual doorways, either ordinary or elaborate, but the mastaba is in no sense a reproduction of a house or palace. Thus the form of the individual niche came from palace doorways, but the use of a series of niches making up a continuous facade was simply a proliferation of *ka*-doors. Niched facades were thus native to Egypt.

Another element which must be included here is the comparison of archaic buildings on Sumerian cylinder seals with examples of the Egyptian *serekh*, representations of this panelling on sarcophagi, etc.²⁾ Shrines portrayed on these early cylinders sometimes have a superficial resemblance to certain Egyptian monuments³⁾ and some even show what could be considered elaborately niched doorways⁴⁾. We may assume that the shrines on Sumerian cylinder seals and the panelling

1) *Tomb Dev.*, pp. 243 ff., 352.

2) Frankfort, *Birth of Civilization*, pl. 22.

3) Emery, *ASAE* 45 (1947), 147. Emery's connection between a building on a cylinder seal of the Uruk Period and Egyptian designs is not accepted by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 18. Gilbert assumes the reverse process in *Cd'E* 52 (1951), 226-27. Porada, *Corpus*, No. 3 (Uruk Period) is another early cylinder with such similarities.

4) Porada, *Corpus*, No. 23 (Jemdet Nasr Period).

shown in the Egyptian *serekh* represent actual buildings. The problem now is to determine if there was actually any impetus from Mesopotamia which created this new style of architecture in Egypt at the close of the Predynastic age, or if we must conclude that there is no relation between the two and the recessed panelling so prominent in both countries was an independent development.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Egyptian architecture in Predynastic times is very meager. There were certain types of shrines built of reeds and other perishable materials which can be reconstructed from drawings on ivory tablets and the like ¹⁾. But the fact remains that there is nothing which can be produced as the beginning stages of an architectural style which culminated in the elaborate niched facades of the First Dynasty tombs. In this respect, there are certain features of Reisner's theory which must be rejected. There is really nothing to back up his assumption that the *serekh* represents only the elaborate doorway of a palace or palace wall. Certain early *serekhs* show that a whole wall may actually have been intended ²⁾. This however does not get at the heart of Reisner's theory. As we have seen above, he began with a single niche or *ka*-door which he assumes to have existed in the earliest tombs and then suggests that the all round niching is simply a proliferation of *ka*-doors ³⁾. From certain evidence, the process seems to have been exactly the reverse.

In the earliest known mastabas with niched facades, all niches are alike with no distinguishing features to make one different from another ⁴⁾. This style continued in use throughout the first two dynasties, though only one example is known from the Second Dynasty. In the mid-First Dynasty, certain changes begin to appear in isolated mastabas. In the reign of Wadji (Zet), a mastaba was built at Tarkhan which, while it shows the elaborate all round niching of its contemporaries,

1) Fakhry, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 1 ff.

2) Cf. p. 20, note 6, above.

3) "The palace-facade mastaba merely beautifies the *ka*-door and increases enormously its number". *Tomb Dev.*, p. 352.

4) *Tomb. Dev.*, figs. 21-23: Naqada (Queen Neithhotep), QS 2185 and Giza V; Sakkara 3357, 3471 and 3503 are also of this early age.

has one niche with a wooden back and wooden floor. It is significant that this individualized niche stands in one of the long walls, opposite the burial chamber, on the east wall toward the southern end of the wall ¹). Toward the end of the same dynasty, a smaller mastaba with only a single niche at the southern end of the east wall was constructed at Sakkara ²). A more general change comes with the introduction of two-niche mastabas which appear already in the First Dynasty ⁴) and are standard in the Second ³). In these two-niche mastabas, the niches are on the east wall, the southern niche invariably larger than the northern. We can hardly escape the conclusion that there must be a direct relationship between the large southern niche of the Second Dynasty mastabas and the variations of the First Dynasty noted here. In each case, the emphasized niche is on the east wall toward the southern end.

The style of continuous all round niching was introduced into Egypt at the beginning of the First Dynasty and continued, though on a much smaller scale, in the Second Dynasty ⁵). For reasons of their own, the Egyptians began altering this architectural style already in the First Dynasty and abandoned it altogether for exterior walls by the end of the Protodynastic Period ⁶). Since the tomb was such a significant factor in the psychology of ancient Egypt, we may logically infer that the variations on the continuous panelled facade and its eventual abandonment at so early a period had something to do with the purpose of tombs. As Reisner pointed out ⁷), the Egyptian tomb

1) *Tomb. Dev.*, fig. 24. Also from Tarkhan comes a further variation of the mastaba with all round niching. A small offering chamber is built into the enclosure wall of the tomb at the southern end of the eastern side; *Tomb. Dev.*, figs. 27, 53. This small chamber is the antecedent for the regular chapel built around the southern niche, a feature which already appears in the Second Dynasty (Sakkara 2304).

2) Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty III* (London, 1958), pp. 98 ff., pl. 114.

3) Sakkara 2105; cf. *Tomb. Dev.*, pp. 248 ff.

4) Quibbell, *Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), pls. I-II; *Tomb Dev.*, pp. 136 ff.

5) *Tomb Dev.*, p. 248.

6) Sporadic examples of very simplified shallow panelling do appear after the Protodynastic Period; Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 380.

7) *Tomb Dev.*, pp. 1 and 245.

served to protect the burial and "make possible the periodic provision of food and drink, necessary to the after-life". There can be no disagreement with him that the superstructure of the tomb served both these functions. But it was inherent in the function of providing a place where offerings could be made and prayers rendered that a specific point in the superstructure be allocated for this purpose. This notion of a focal point for communication between living and dead can be traced to the First Dynasty. Small mastabas from Tarkhan, dating to this period, show two holes in the retaining wall of the superstructure which normally appear at the end of one of the long walls, opposite the head of the body inside¹). It seems probable that the Tarkhan mastaba with its wood panelled niche, the Tarkhan mastabas with all round niching and a single offering chamber (p. 23, note 1) and the single niche mastaba from Sakkara are also evidence of this concept.

Another point which I suggest with some hesitation is that the elaborate all round niching seems to have been preserved for the large mastabas belonging to the royal family and greater nobility. The smaller tombs of the period, where the superstructure is preserved, do not evidence all round niching, though some do show the two niche plan²). It is thus possible that there existed a "palace style" and a "common style", the former dominated by all round niching. This would lend support to the existence of the "Dynastic Race", a group of foreigners who apparently imposed their rule on Egypt during the First Dynasty (cf. pp. 33 ff., below).

But did this continuous niched facade adequately serve the needs of religion? We cannot be sure just when it became traditional for the Egyptian tomb to have a focal point at which communication between living and dead took place. Certainly this was already true in the Second Dynasty, when a mastaba normally contained two niches, the southern larger than the northern. And the slim evidence noted above would indicate that the idea was already in evidence in the First Dynasty.

Assuming that this concept was fixed, or at least gaining popularity,

1) *Tomb Dev.*, fig. 126.

2) *Tomb Dev.*, fig. 127; Vandier, *Manuel I*, Figs. 453-54.

during the First Dynasty, it is easily seen that the great mastabas with all round niching did not suit the needs of religious belief. For they offered no focal point of worship, all niches being the same. It is for this reason that Reisner's theory that all round niching was simply a multiplicity of *ka*-doors must be rejected. This goes contrary to the very purpose of the *ka*-door which was to provide precisely the focal point of worship required by theological doctrine. In short, the whole process of the development of niched panelling in Egypt looks more like an architectural innovation, adopted at the very beginning of the historic period and abandoned when it could not conform to theology, or when a new theological doctrine was introduced which could not be adapted to the all round niching. From the extant evidence of the use of this style of architecture in Egypt, the development from continuous niching at the beginning, through variations which set aside one niche as more important than the others to a final abandonment supports Frankfort's thesis that the niched facade was borrowed from Mesopotamia.

What of architectural evidence from within Egypt itself? Like Reisner or anyone else who writes on this subject I must make certain assumptions. Due to the complete absence of any preliminary stages which would necessarily have led up to the elaborate structures of the First Dynasty, we must assume (1) that no such preliminary steps existed, (2) that they once existed in a perishable material such as wood, or (3) that they have been destroyed or not yet discovered. It seems to me that the first assumption—that no such preliminary stages existed—is the most valid one.

Building complicated niched structures out of a more perishable material than mud brick has no support in actual evidence. There is no doubt that some important structures of Predynastic times were built of a wooden framework onto which woven mats were lashed. The fact that just such painted designs, including the rope lashing, are found on the niched facades of First Dynasty tombs ¹⁾ has led some to the

1) Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* III, pls. 6-8; etc.

conclusion that these wood and matting structures were in the form of niched panelling. But such a structure would present broad flat surfaces, not elaborately panelled ones. Frankfort is correct in saying that the painted designs of the early niched mastabas represent one architectural style imposed as decoration on another and that there can be no connection between the wood-mat prototypes of this painted decoration and the niched facades they adorn ¹⁾. That wooden prototypes of the niched mastabas once existed also seems out of the question. Wood for construction had to be imported and, while timber was being brought in from Lebanon already in the Predynastic Period, it was not being brought in such quantities that palaces—the supposed prototype of the mastaba-facade—could be constructed of wood, particularly palaces with panelled facades which would require even more lumber than flat wall surfaces. Here too, there is no evidence to support such a theory ²⁾.

The assumption that mud brick prototypes once existed and no trace has yet been discovered is also untenable in the light of present evidence. Our knowledge of mud brick architecture in the Predynastic Period is extremely scanty, consisting solely of graves and the remains of houses. The use of sun-dried mud bricks is known from certain sites where some graves are lined with this material ³⁾ and bricks infrequently appear in house construction ⁴⁾ However, there is nothing so far known in

1) Frankfort, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 332. Cf. also Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 177. *Tomb. Dev.*, pp. 291-92, derives the painted decoration from the *sh*-pavilion, a wood-mat structure.

2) Petrie's interesting attempt to fit short timbers found re-used in a coffin into a niched pattern (*Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 24) cannot be correct. Frankfort suggests these timbers were salvaged from a wrecked boat (*op. cit.*, p. 340). Petrie's theory, however, is still noted as a possibility: Fakhry, *op. cit.*, p. 22. While I assume that timbers for construction were imported, the use of local wood for making short pieces cannot be ruled out completely. The strength of a wooden building, however, depends on firm beams of considerable length which could not be found in Egypt.

3) Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 243-44 (Mahasna), pp. 255-56 (Abusir el-Meleq).

4) Brunton, and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization* (London, 1928), pp. 47-48; *Cultures II*, pp. 133-34. The subterranean structure at Hierakonpolis, the so-called "painted tomb", is still debated as to its function and date; cf. Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 527 ff. and 561 ff.; *Cultures II*, p. 126.

Egypt which could possibly be taken as the earlier stages of the First Dynasty facades beyond the mere fact that the Egyptians had prior experience with mud bricks. It is perfectly true that most Predynastic sites have suffered the ravages of time, that these sites have been denuded, robbed and destroyed for centuries and that any mud-brick structures which may have existed above ground may have long since disappeared. Yet the monuments of the First Dynasty were preserved to substantial heights; are we to suppose that the First Dynasty monuments, although plundered, remained partially intact while prototypes of the Late Predynastic age were completely destroyed without a trace? Such selective destruction does not seem likely. Surely, had the Egyptians worked out the intermediate stages between the simplest use of mud bricks—lining for graves—and the complicated use of bricks evidenced in the niched mastabas, some trace of these intermediate steps would have come to light by this time.

In point of fact, the architectural accomplishments of Predynastic Egypt simply do not prepare us for the advanced architectural skill of the earliest years of the Protodynastic Period. I do not believe we can account for this by saying that prototypes once existed which have been destroyed, or once existed in materials that have perished. Neither in actual buildings nor in art is there a single undisputed example of a niched facade preceding the advent of the historic age. I do not see how it is possible to escape the conclusion that the niched facade style of architecture was indeed borrowed from Mesopotamia.

E. The Nature of Early Egypto-Mesopotamian Contacts

Having reviewed the evidence which proves that there was some kind of connection between Egypt and Mesopotamia during at least the Naqada II Period, it now remains to explain how this connection came about. The assumptions with which I begin this discussion are as follows ¹⁾:

1) Cf. Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 46-51.

1. The Naqada II culture developed out of the Naqada I culture, both originating in Upper Egypt. The differences between the two are the result of gradual and normal changes evidenced in any human culture as it progresses.
2. Asiatic influences, including Mesopotamian, appear at the beginning of the Naqada II Period, increasing in variety and number toward the close of this period. (Evidence for earlier contacts is unconvincing, though this possibility must be left open; cf. p. 5, above).
3. There is no evidence to indicate an invasion or mass migration of Asiatics into Egypt at the beginning of the Naqada II Period. The probability of such an invasion or migration at the end of the Naqada II Period is supported by a reasonable body of evidence, in particular the indications of the appearance of the "Dynastic Race" (cf. pp. 33-39, below).

There are two routes proposed by which Mesopotamian influence came to Egypt: (1) from Sumer by sea to Koseir at the mouth of the Wadi Hammamat, thence to the Nile Valley, and (2) from Syria-Palestine either by land or sea. Since the Wadi Hammamat has often been proposed as a route for supposed invasions at both the beginning and end of the Naqada II age, I will discuss this problem first.

The theory of an invasion through the Wadi Hammamat rests primarily on the fact that Naqada II sites cluster around the point where the Wadi Hammamat enters the Nile Valley, the appearance of the so-called "Red Sea Craft" on objects from this area and the assumption that there was at one time a now unknown geographical link between Sumer and the Red Sea. If we assume that the Naqada II culture was native to Upper Egypt and accept the evidence that the "Red Sea Craft" are not Mesopotamian (cf. pp. 29ff, below), there is nothing left to support a Sumero-Egyptian contact by sea. The presumed geographical link between Sumer and Egypt has left no trace. Frankfort, the most outspoken champion of the Red Sea route, suggested a "Mesopotamian" culture somewhere in the Persian Gulf or Arabian coast which would have served as the intermediary between Sumer and Egypt¹). Mrs. Baumgartel strongly supports an invasion through the Wadi Hammamat²), though she strangely also supports a north

1) Frankfort, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 358.

2) *Cultures* I, pp. 44-50.

Syrian origin for the Naqada II people¹). Massoulard suggests that all Mesopotamian influence came by sea; Mesopotamian boats sailed up the Red Sea across the Wadi Hammamat to the Nile²).

Certainly the Wadi Hammamat was a well-used route throughout prehistoric times. A survey expedition into this area, including the Lakeita Oasis and the Red Sea coast, produced many remains of this period³). These include Paleolithic and Mesolithic flints, Badarian graves, a Naqada I village and several villages or settlements of later Predynastic and Protodynastic date. Consequently, there is no doubt that the road from Coptos to Koseir, *via* the Wadi Hammamat was known and used in very early times. But the trail of evidence stops on the shores of the Red Sea. From Koseir to Sumer, there is no trace of any traffic between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Nothing has so far been reported which would indicate the necessary halting-places along the extensive coastal route which ships would have had to follow. That the Sumerians engaged in long-distance sea trade with western India during the third millennium B.C. is now well known⁴). The intermediate sites between Sumer and the Indus Valley are now coming to light⁵). But no such evidence has ever been produced to substantiate a similar sea-route to Egypt.

The idea that Sumerian ships actually sailed across the Wadi Hammamat is based on the appearance of the "Red Sea Craft" on the Gebel el Arak knife handle (presumably found at a site near Denderah), in the Hierakonpolis "painted tomb", rock-carvings in the desert and on pottery from both Naqada I and II times. Since all this material comes from Upper Egypt and it was assumed that the particular type of ship in question was of Mesopotamian origin, the conclusion was quite logical that the Sumerians actually sailed through the Wadi Hammamat

1) *Cultures II*, 140-41.

2) Massoulard, p. 229.

3) DeBono, *Cd'E* 50 (1951), 238 ff.; *ASAE* 51 (1950), 59 ff.

4) Cf. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 159 ff.

5) The islands of Bahrain and Fulaika (off the coast of Kuwait) are now proving of immense value in establishing Indo-Sumerian contacts: Glob, *ILN* Jan 4, 1958, pp. 14-16; Jan 11, 1958, pp. 54-56; *Jahrbuch KUML* 1960, 153-213, and 1961, 169-201; Roussell, *ILN* Jan. 28, 1961, pp. 142-43.

or transported their craft overland to engage in hostilities in the Nile Valley itself.

The evidence for this so-called "Red Sea Craft" is confusing, to say the least. Generally speaking, this ship has a high vertical prow and stern with some kind of indeterminant features (floral?) at the tip of the prow or both prow and stern. Cabins and other additions vary with the individual boat. The most quoted of these ships are those portrayed on the Gebel el Arak knife handle. Similar boats appear on objects from Diospolis Parva, Abydos and in rock carvings from the eastern desert ¹⁾, though none of these are really similar enough—beyond the high prows and sterns—to make identity a certainty.

A Naqada I pot-sherd from Mostagedda bears the fragmentary remains of what is usually considered to be one of these craft ²⁾. However, this boat has only a high stern and is therefore quite different from those vessels with both high prow and stern. The same is true of the single "Red Sea Craft" portrayed in the Hierakonpolis "painted tomb" ³⁾. This also has only a high stern, the prow lifting only slightly out of the water. I do not believe that these boats with only the high stern can be considered in the same category as those with both high stern and prow.

On the Naqada ivory of Aha-Menes, a ship appears with high stern and prow, though the prow is fitted out with a complex group of elements not found on the other "Red Sea Craft". Vikentiev ⁴⁾ suggests that this boat is of Syrian or Mesopotamian style and concludes: "La grande barque serait alors un bateau de guerre faisant sa rentrée triomphale pour assister à la celebration de la fête Sed" ⁵⁾. However, this boat is more probably an early representation of a sacred solar bark ⁶⁾.

1) Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901), pl. 21.52; Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 12; Vandier, *Manuel* I, fig. 7.

2) Brunton, *Mostagedda* (London, 1937), p. 83, pl. 38.4; *Cultures* I, p. 71; Asselberghs, p. 42, fig. 10; Vandier, *Manuel* I, fig. 187.

3) Asselberghs, pl. 25.

4) Vikentiev, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 219 ff.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 224.

6) Thomas, *JEA* 45 (1959), 38, note 5.

Finally, we must also consider an early series of boats with sails which show a high prow and stern. The earliest is on a painted pot of the late Naqada II Period ¹). The prow is decorated with a bird and the ship is seen under full sail. Another ship under full sail is on a pot from Abydos; this graffito shows the prow slanting slightly forward, but just as high as the stern ²). A similar ship is seen in a Nubian rock-carving portraying a river battle ³). This has a high vertical stern with a long near-vertical prow jutting out at a high angle; a mast but no sail is shown. Though not specifically labelled as such, the references to comparable ships indicate that this too is considered a probable "Red Sea Craft".

This series of boats is called on to prove the existence not only of Mesopotamian influence but also of invasions from the east. And since this type of ship is shown only on monuments from Upper Egypt, the assumption has been that these invasions came through the Wadi Hammamat. The core of this theory is the Gebel el Arak knife handle which shows positive Mesopotamian artistic influence. Hence, it is said, the "foreign" ships must also be Mesopotamian since similar ships can be seen on Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the period. Because of this naval battle between Egyptian and "Mesopotamian" ships, a Sumerian invasion of Upper Egypt has been proposed.

The distinctly Mesopotamian artistic elements appear on the verso ⁴); the recto contains two scenes, a land battle and a naval battle. But the "foreign" combattants cannot be called Sumerian. They may be Libyans, Semites or even Egyptians, but certainly not Mesopotamians ⁵). Therefore, the boats in which these combattants arrived in Upper Egypt do not have to be Mesopotamian. The fact that Mesopotamian in-

1) Asselberghs, figs. 19 and 21; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 23.3. Cf. Bowen, *Antiquity* 34 (1960), 117-131, who discusses a possible method by which the sail was invented in Egypt as well as its later development.

2) Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. 12.

3) Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 28-29, fig. 1.

4) Vandier, *Manuel I*, pp. 534 ff.

5) Beards, long hair and the phallus sheath are generally considered to be characteristic of Libyans. However, beards and long hair are also Semitic features. The long hair and beards are the only features which distinguish these foreigners from the Egyptians on this monument.

fluence appears on the verso does not necessitate its presence on the recto. Assuming that the other boats are Upper Egyptian—they are of the type shown on the painted pottery of Naqada II—where did the “foreign” ships come from and what is the historical context of this scene?

It is difficult to see how the Gebel el Arak knife handle can be dated so positively to S.D. 60¹⁾. It was not found *in situ* but was acquired by purchase, hence had to be dated on stylistic grounds. Such a procedure has its value, but I feel it is not possible to be quite so exact about the date of a Predynastic object found out of context. It must fall in the late Naqada II Period, but just where will have to remain an open question²⁾. This means it is a matter of conjecture as to the historical context of the battle scenes. Assuming that these scenes represent actual events, and there is no good reason why they should not, we are faced with a war between the inhabitants of Upper Egypt and some group of people presumably foreign to that area, arriving in ships presumably from their place of origin.

The ships have a strong similarity to Mesopotamian ships of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods, particularly from Uruk³⁾. At this point, I should emphasize that I can accept only the ships on the Gebel el Arak knife handle as showing similarities to Mesopotamian ships. All the other examples quoted above are not, in my opinion, of the same type and cannot be called Mesopotamian⁴⁾. But is a mere similarity between the Gebel el Arak knife handle and Mesopotamian ships on cylinder seals enough to warrant connections which preclude historical events of no small significance? There are important differences which must also be taken into consideration. The Mesopotamian ships of this style are not war galleys and appear in ritual scenes, usually associated with a shrine. They generally carry two men, one rowing at the stern,

1) This conclusion was reached by Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 22 (1916), p. 36, and Petrie, *Ancient Egypt* 1917, 26-36.

2) Cf. the remarks by Miss Kantor, *JNES* 3 (1944), 119 ff.

3) Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris, 1961), pls. 13bis. E, 46.656, 61.827, etc.; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. 3d-e.

4) Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 7, quotes Kaiser, *ZAS* 81 (1956), 103, as producing much the same conclusion as I have reached here. Kaiser's article is not available to me.

one standing at the bow with a long pole. These are obviously cultic boats of some kind. The general type continues with variations into later periods ¹⁾.

Miss Kantor has shown that the Gebel el Arak knife handle belongs to the late Naqada II Period and that this culture immediately preceded the advent of the historic age ²⁾. Assuming that the knife handle represents a real historical event and that it comes at the end of the Naqada II Period, the conclusion is logical that this object is somehow related to the "Dynastic Race" which made its appearance around this time ³⁾. While not all scholars are agreed that a new ethnic element entered Egypt at the beginning of historic times, it seems to me that there is enough evidence to warrant giving such a theory serious consideration.

Several documents of the late Naqada II Period portray a troubled country, though the warfare depicted is mostly with Libyans. Thus, the Palette of the Vultures, the Palette of Libyan Tribute, the Palette of Bulls and several fragments ⁴⁾ are ample indication of a substantial unrest in the Nile Valley. Just what was responsible for this time of warfare is unknown, but these monuments probably depict the internal struggles of the country prior to the unification at the beginning of the First Dynasty. In this case, these documents may all be related to the coming of the Dynastic Race. Vandier has suggested that the battle scenes on the Gebel el Arak knife handle represent the first battle between Asiatic invaders and the natives of Upper Egypt. These Asiatics, he feels, came from Syria-Palestine, entered Egypt through the

1) Frankfort, *Stratified Seals of the Dyala Region*, Nos. 366 and 551 (Early Dynastic Period); Von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silviu von Aulock* (Uppsala, 1957), p. 148, No. 254 (Akkadian Period).

2) Kantor, *JNES* 3 (1944), 110 ff.

3) On the Dynastic Race in general, cf. Engelbach, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 193-221; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pp. 38 ff.

4) Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* I, pp. 584 ff. Mrs. Baumgartel disagrees that these documents are really of the Predynastic Period (*Cultures* II, pp. 94 ff.) and judges most of them to be later than the unification of Egypt. But her arguments are based purely on similarities to later artistic works. The reasons advanced for a later Predynastic date are just as valid.

Delta and moved up the Nile Valley, meeting no opposition until they reached the area of Nag Hamadi ¹). This is a very plausible interpretation and helps in understanding the foreign ships and men portrayed on this document.

I have noted above a general similarity between these ships and those portrayed on Sumerian cylinder seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods. I have also noted that the non-Egyptian figures are more likely to be Libyans or western Semites than anyone else. Libyans or Syrians arriving in Egypt in Sumerian ships is hardly probable. We must thus either propose that the ships are of a style originating in the west Delta region, hence Libyan, or that the foreigners are Syrians, arriving in ships of a style originating along the Syro-Palestinian coast.

The latter suggestion has much in its favor. The westward expansion of the Jemdet Nasr culture can be traced as far west as Syria-Palestine, thus establishing a contact between Mesopotamia and the Syrian coast during the period in which the Gebel el Arak knife handle was made. The obvious Mesopotamian influence on the Gebel el Arak knife handle could very well have been transmitted to Egypt through Syria. I have proposed elsewhere that the original trade connections between Syria and Egypt were by sea and were begun on Syrian initiative ²). Syrian trade relations were well established with Egypt in the south, Mesopotamia in the east and Cyprus and beyond in the west. The focal point of Near Eastern trade at this time seems unquestionably to have been the north Syrian coast. There is little doubt that Syrians could have brought Mesopotamian objects and other influences to Egypt throughout the Naqada II Period and could have invaded Egypt at the close of this period.

¹) Vandier, *Manuel* I, pp. 605 ff. Vandier also interprets the "painted tomb" of Hierakonpolis in the same context. This, he says, represents the triumphal entry of the invader's king, his conquest completed, portrayed in his tomb. But this structure is probably not a tomb (cf. p. 26, note 4, above) and the closest possible dating is S.D. 46-60 (cf. Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.), that is almost anywhere in the Naqada II Period. Hence, it is doubtful that this structure can be definitely associated with historical events of the end of the Naqada II Period.

²) Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 43 ff.

Evidence from within Egypt supports this. Much has been made of the Egypto-Semitic¹⁾ character of the earliest Egyptian inscriptions, and justly so. Written Egyptian, as we know it from the inscriptions, is an artificial tongue, that is, it is not a pure language but a mixture of North African and Semitic, though there is much more involved than this. Egyptian also has a close relationship with Hamitic (the Libyan and Berber dialects of North Africa), Cushitic (the non-Semitic dialects of Ethiopia) as well as Semitic. Furthermore, there are linguistic elements common to all these, though there is still no satisfactory solution to the origins of these broad linguistic connections²⁾. About this much we can be sure: the earliest Egyptian inscriptions represent a language already mixed, having a strong Semitic linguistic superstratum impressed on the native North African language. This factor obviously has great historical significance. But the major difficulty is to determine just when this mixture came about.

Several scholars have seen in this linguistic situation proof that the Naqada I people were of North African stock while the Naqada II people were Semites. The mixture of speech would thus have taken place at the beginning and during the Naqada II Period. This reconstruction of the origin of the Semitic features in Egyptian is used to support a Semitic invasion of the Nile Valley at that time. But, as I have indicated³⁾, the evidence for an invasion of Egypt from any direction at the beginning of the Naqada II Period does not stand up under examination. It is just as possible that this strong Semitic element was introduced at the close of the Naqada II Period by the Dynastic Race.

Unfortunately, a certain confusion has been created by the theory that the Sumerians introduced the idea of writing into Egypt⁴⁾. The Sumerians had invented writing some time prior to the earliest Egyptian

1) On this term, cf. Ward, *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 413 ff.

2) The best survey of this problem is still Lefebvre, *Cd'É* 22 (1936), 266-92.

3) Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 46 ff.

4) Cf. Frankfort, *Birth of Civilization*, pp. 106 ff.

inscriptions¹). It is quite natural to suppose that with the expansion of the Jemdet Nasr Culture westward and the definite influences of this culture as far away as Egypt, the idea of writing could also have been introduced into Egypt by this means. But there is one more argument against direct contact between Sumer and Egypt. Had Sumerians actually come to the Nile Valley in the so-called "Red Sea Craft", we would find Sumerian linguistic elements, if only to the extent of vocabulary, in Egyptian, and such elements do not exist. A few isolated words in Egyptian can be traced back to Sumerian originals, but these were transmitted *via* Semitic²). A direct contact between Sumer and Egypt would surely have produced a Sumerian element in the Egyptian language.

But if there is no linguistic influence, did the idea that the spoken word could be represented by written symbols come from Mesopotamia? The "similarities" between early Sumerian writing and Egyptian have been produced as evidence that Egypt gained the concept of reproducing speech by written symbols from Sumer. That both systems developed the rebus principle and used ideograms, phonograms and determinatives is admitted. But the same can be said of early Chinese or Aztec³). The supposed similarities between Sumerian and Egyptian writing are universal to pictographic scripts and cannot be used to prove that the Sumerians taught Egyptians the value of writing.

1) Written documents first appear at Uruk in level IV (Late Protoliterate Period = Jemdet Nasr Period) which is roughly contemporary to the later Naqada II culture. While it is still impossible to work out an acceptable absolute chronology, it is certain that the late Protoliterate of Mesopotamia is contemporary to the Naqada II of Egypt, meaning that written records appear in Sumer some time before they appear in Egypt. A concise essay on Sumerian is Falkenstein, *Das Sumerische (Handb. der Orientalistik*; Leiden, 1959). Note his remarks on the impossibilities of relating Sumerian to any known language (p. 15).

2) For example, Sumerian NAN-GAR, "carpenter", = Akkadian *naggaru*, = Egyptian *nfr*, already evidenced in the Pyramid Texts. The Egyptian form shows the assimilation of *ng* to *gg* which took place in the Semitic borrowing. Sumerian NAN-GAR itself was borrowed from the native, or pre-Sumerian language; cf. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), p. 41.

3) On Maya and Aztec in general, cf. Thompson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. Introduction* (Washington, 1950), Chap. 2. Rebus writing is quite common in these scripts (p. 46).

It is quite possible that we should separate this problem into two parts: (1) the appearance of writing in Egypt and (2) the Semitic influence in the Egyptian language. It is impossible to prove conclusively that these two things appeared at the same time or that they are part of the same phenomenon. Similarly, one cannot insist that they appeared in Egypt at two different times, but they did not have to and a good case can be made for a native invention of writing in Egypt. The basic elements of pictographic writing were present in Egypt long before the advent of the First Dynasty. If we can agree that a pictograph (1) consists of readily recognizable representations of familiar objects and (2) conveys a specific idea from the mind of the man who made it to the mind of the man who views it, then pictographs were being created throughout the Predynastic age¹). It is not really a complex move from pictographs which represent only sense to those which represent sound; this is the principle of the rebus²). Just when such a step was taken is unknown, but I cannot accept the idea that the development from pictographic to hieroglyphic writing in Egypt had

1) For example, a small palette of the Naqada I Period shows a man standing in a boat throwing a harpoon into a hippopotamus; Asselberghs, pl. 46. This picture represents a specific concept which can be translated into actual words: *stt z db m w'*, "a man is shooting a hippopotamus with a harpoon". The step from a pictograph to a readable inscription is a simple one in Egyptian. This early pictograph has three "hieroglyphs": MAN + HIPPOPOTAMUS + HARPOON. *Using these same pictures* with the addition of pictures representing verbal elements, the pictograph becomes a text: (SHOOT) + MAN + HIPPOPOTAMUS + (WITH) + HARPOON. While I do not believe this early picture was a conscious effort to reproduce the sounds of speech, it does represent an idea translated into pictures and can be "read" with no difficulty. Later hieroglyphic writing in Egypt used conventionalized forms of these same pictures to represent the same ideas. I will not enter into a discussion of the motives or intentions behind the production of such a scene; cf. Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago, 1952), Chap. 2. To my mind, this picture portrays a specific event put into symbols that can be understood by any who view it and, because of the nature of the later hieroglyphic writing, can probably be considered the initial stage in the development of a script in Egypt.

2) In the picture discussed in the previous note, the picture of a harpoon stands for a harpoon. The word for "harpoon" was pronounced with the consonants *w'* (the written script made no effort to represent vowels). The numeral "one" was also pronounced with the consonants *w'*, so a HARPOON-sign was eventually used to write "one", "be alone", and so on. In this case, the HARPOON-sign is no longer an ideogram but a phonogram, representing sound and not sense.

to have some outside impetus from an intellectually superior civilization.

The Semitic influence in the Egyptian language is a different matter. Here we must accept foreign influence of considerable importance. As far as we know at present, these contacts were with a West Semitic people, though it should be noted that there are no Semitic inscriptions of any kind from this early age so that this must remain a tentative conclusion, there being no comparative material. The Egyptian language is not purely Semitic. In both grammar and vocabulary it shows a mixture of Semitic and what I have called, for want of a better term, North African. Relatively speaking, the Semitic elements are quite outnumbered by the North African, but the Semitic linguistic superstratum is unmistakable.

There is no denying that Semitic words could have been borrowed into Egyptian in the normal course of trade, and trade was being carried on throughout the Naqada II Period. Thus, for a period of three or four centuries, words could gradually have found their way into the spoken language of Egypt, and probably did. But we are dealing with much more than loan-words. The Semitic vocabulary reaches into every phase of daily life and a strong Semitic influence is seen in the grammar of Egyptian. On the face of it, this would seem to suggest a long Semitic presence in Egypt prior to the appearance of writing and that the Dynastic Race in reality could have had little or nothing to do with the Semitic elements in Egyptian. However, a brief review of certain important factors may instead serve to support this idea.

The earliest inscription giving an adequate text for judging grammatical structure and the like is from the end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty¹). Prior to this time, there were inscriptions but these consist only of names and titles, labels attached to containers in tombs and certain extremely abbreviated phrases found from time to time on other documents. While it is possible to point to

1) Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I (Rome, 1955), p. 3.

Egypto-Semitic words in Protodynastic inscriptions¹⁾, little more than this can be done. The full impact of Semitic on native Egyptian is thus not discernible until the Fourth Dynasty. Another point is that the written documents of early Egypt represent the official class and not the masses. The only inscriptions of this period may therefore represent a language used for written documents which differed in a marked manner from everyday speech. We cannot prove such a notion, but such was the case in Egypt in later times and for most of the Arabic-speaking countries today²⁾. It is possible that, while Semitic words were being introduced during the Naqada II Period, the Egypto-Semitic character of the written language was imposed during the dominance of the Dynastic Race, that is, during the First Dynasty. Such an influence would remain even after the disappearance of these people as the ruling class³⁾.

One class of early objects—the cylinder seal—deserves special comment. I have noted above (p. 6) the few cylinders known from Naqada II graves which Miss Kantor has shown to be either genuine imports from Mesopotamia or Egyptian copies of Mesopotamian originals. The ultimate origin of Egyptian cylinder seals is thus beyond doubt and the probable route of transmission from Mesopotamia to Egypt can be verified by the appearance of Jemdet Nasr style seals in Syria in contemporary levels⁴⁾. Several Egyptian cylinders¹⁾ and nu-

1) Egyptian *ḥb* = Semitic $\sqrt{\text{ḥb}}$ "heart", is frequently found; Godron, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 198 ff.

2) The rather sudden appearance of the colloquial dialect in texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty shows that classical and colloquial Egyptian were both being used at the same time. Today, Classical Arabic has gone out of use in everyday speech though it is still an official language, misused by all but those specially trained to speak and write it.

3) The dominant presence of a foreign language still causes interesting effects on a native tongue. In modern Lebanese Arabic, the results of the long French domination of the country are seen in the spoken language. One usually says *kif martak*, "how is your wife?", but *kif madamtak* is also common, preserving the Arabic grammatical structure. *Marhaba*, "hello", in colloquial usage is answered by *marhabtén*, or "twice hello". One can also say *bon jour*, answered by *bon jourén*, "twice good day".

4) This particular point has been noted by Amiet in *Syria* 40 (1963), 57 ff., and *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris, 1961), p. 38, with note 10. According to Amiet, Jemdet-Nasr style glyptic penetrated into north Syria only, and then in

merous impressions from the Protodynastic Period attest a wide usage of this type of object from the beginning of the First Dynasty. There is, however, a significant difference between the imported seals of Naqada II times and the cylinders of the First Dynasty. No trace of Mesopotamian influence is discernible in the Protodynastic seals; this originally Mesopotamian object had already become completely Egyptianized. Without exception, the cylinders from the beginning of the First Dynasty onward show Egyptian motives, names and titles.

There were two major uses for cylinder seals in early Egypt, corresponding roughly to the material of which they were made and the subject matter they contain. First, there are those seals which had a practical usage, namely, the sealing of containers. These were made of wood, bone or ivory, though very few actual cylinders of this class have been preserved. That they were in common use is shown by the innumerable impressions found as jar-sealings. These contain royal names or the names and titles of various officials. The second class are funerary amulets rather than seals even though they retain the cylindrical shape. Cylinders of this group are made of stone, most commonly black steatite, and bear a form of inscription which can be classed as religious or funerary. One does not find impressions of such cylinders. Frankfort has already pointed out this significant difference in usage; cylinder

greatly modified form. Cylinder seals were introduced into central Syria and the coastal area by north Syrians in the period immediately following the Jemdet-Nasr age. The cylinders imported into Egypt during the Naqada II Period, he feels, show Elamite rather than Mesopotamian influence and came to Egypt *via* the sea route from Elam to the Wadi Hammamat. However, in my opinion there is no evidence to support the existence of such a sea route so we must consider the northern land route as the only reasonable alternative. While the cylinders found in Naqada II Egypt may show motives which are Elamite in origin, they do have excellent parallels at such Mesopotamian sites as Jemdet-Nasr, Uruk, Telloh and Khafadje. Finally, the fact that precisely the motives on these particular cylinders have not been found in Syria does not mean that Mesopotamian seals could not have found their way to Egypt *via* Syria. While we may accept Amiet's excellent studies of early glyptic, he offers no cogent reasons why the cylinders from Naqada II graves cannot be Sumerian nor does his favoring Elam as the origin for the motives used forbid the northern land route as the means by which these seals came to Egypt.

1) Dated cylinders: Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 5.11; *Abydos II*, pl. 12.274-75; *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 2.32-35, 39, 56; etc.

seals in Mesopotamia were not used as funerary objects ¹). While some scholars in the past have attempted to analyze the early Egyptian cylinders, these studies made little progress ²). More successful investigations have been made in recent years, though the subject has hardly been touched by detailed and exhaustive examination ³).

The further history of cylinders in Egypt is easily given. After the extensive use of cylinders in the Protodynastic Period, they went out of common usage except for royal cylinders and a few belonging to private officials. Cylinders were still used for sealing during the Old Kingdom as evidenced by material from Giza ⁴). Individual cylinders appear in every period into post-Empire times though they become quite rare after the Middle Kingdom. In passing, it should be noted that many cylinders assigned to the Protodynastic Period or early Old Kingdom may instead be of later date. For example, several have designs and motives which fit into the repertoire of First Intermediate Period button seals ⁵). But this is a problem of the inner development of Egyptian seals and cannot be examined here.

What then can we conclude concerning the appearance of the cylinder seal in Egypt? The basic assumption that the cylinder seal is a characteristic Sumerian object can be accepted, I think, as valid. The evidence from Egypt clearly shows that Mesopotamian cylinders were imported into Egypt in the Naqada II Period so that the ultimate Mesopotamian origin of this class of object, which found such extensive use in Egypt, is beyond question. But except for the rare cylinders of Predynastic date in Egypt Mesopotamian influence is totally lacking;

1) Frankfort, *Birth of Civilization*, pp. 101-02.

2) Petrie, *Ancient Egypt* 1914, 61-77, 1915, 78-83; Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 43 ff.

3) Cf., for example, von Bissing, *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch* (Munich, 1952), who studies 78 cylinders of the Protodynastic Period showing a human figure seated before a table of offerings. This scene is related to the similar scene shown on funerary stelae.

4) Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 19; Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*, Chap. 6; Junker, *Giza VII*, pp. 231 ff.

5) Note Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 6.140-45, 147. Many elements here such as the loop pattern, running human figures, and animals and humans *tête bêche* and *tête à tête* are characteristic of the First Intermediate Period.

with the advent of the historic age, the cylinder seal became an Egyptian object, showing its foreign origin only in its cylindrical shape. Not only was the cylinder adapted to the needs of the funerary cult, it was also inscribed with writing. Both notions were unknown in contemporary Mesopotamia¹). It would appear that, like Mesopotamian niched panelled architecture, the cylinder seal was borrowed by Egypt, adapted to local needs and finally discarded. The cylinder seal, however, enjoyed a longer life-span in Egypt since it was not replaced in practical use until toward the end of the Old Kingdom when stamp seals and eventually scarabs were used both for the purpose of sealing and as funerary amulets.

The egyptianizing of the Mesopotamian cylinder seal took place in that obscure period when the Predynastic age gave way to the historic dynasties. We may logically wonder if this change in the character of cylinder seals is related to the appearance of the Dynastic Race, that all-important but always elusive phenomenon which is being briefly examined in these pages. Here again it is impossible to draw conclusions. The emergence of the cylinder seal as an Egyptian object in contrast to its Mesopotamian origin coincides roughly with the appearance of several of the phenomena discussed in the preceding pages—niched panelled facades, hieroglyphic inscriptions and monumental tomb architecture. All combine as heralds of the historic age in Egypt. If the historical situation supported in this paper is correct, a new people were responsible for establishing the First Dynasty in Egypt. It is to them that we may possibly ascribe the adaptation of the Sumerian cylinder seal to purposes indigenous to the Nile Valley.

This again raises more questions for which there are no completely satisfactory answers. The use of cylinder seals as funerary amulets and the placing of inscriptions on cylinders appear to be characteristically

1) Frankfort, *Birth of Civilization*, p. 101, notes that inscriptions appear first on Mesopotamian seals in the Early Dynastic II Period which is roughly contemporary to the late Protodynastic and early Old Kingdom Periods in Egypt. The notion of writing on seals could thus not have been brought to Egypt by analogy to inscribed Mesopotamian seals since such was not the practise in Mesopotamia until long after inscribed seals had appeared in Egypt.

Egyptian notions and cannot be found either in Mesopotamia or Syria at this early date. We must therefore conclude that if the Dynastic Race actually did bring about the changes in the usage of cylinder seals evident in Protodynastic Egypt, these innovations were made because of local needs and were not introduced by the Dynastic Race from outside. It is probable that the use of cylinder seals as funerary objects harks back to Predynastic times since several of the Mesopotamian cylinders from the Naqada II Period were found in graves. The rarity of such objects in Predynastic Egypt might easily account for their being added to the normal grave equipment. Inscribed cylinders were probably invented first for official sealing purposes as part of the need for some method of keeping records under the new united government. The use of inscriptions on the amuletic cylinders would naturally follow once the new system of writing was recognized as having value in the funerary cult. If inscribed names and titles had a practical usage in sealing containers, the inscribed names and titles of a deceased individual could also be put to good use in the mortuary religion to perpetuate the thus permanently rendered personality of the dead. This would also account for the more permanent material out of which the amuletic cylinders were made. A wooden seal would suffice for practical usage since the inscription on it was only valid for the lifetime of the owner. But an amulet was meant to last for eternity and must therefore be made of stone.

Thus we can suggest plausible reasons for the appearance of inscribed cylinder seals and their use as funerary amulets in Egypt. But it is still difficult to place such developments in a clear historical perspective, particularly since the Dynastic Race itself, though its existence has long been assumed, still remains a shadowy concept for which the evidence is largely indirect.

Fortunately, there is some material evidence in the form of skeletal remains which supports the appearance of a new ethnic strain¹). The ruling class in Egypt during the First Dynasty was of a different stock

1) Most of this is conveniently collected in Massoulard, Chap. 10.

than the bulk of the population. This new strain was already present in Egypt during Predynastic times. It seems plausible that we can suggest a group of foreigners who began infiltrating, probably as the result of trade connections, who were then followed by an invasion of the Nile Valley, once the potential of this land had been recognized ¹). Where the Dynastic Race came from is impossible to tell without skeletal remains outside Egypt with which comparisons can be made. The consensus of opinion seems to be that they came from the east. But another possibility strikes me as being more logical. We have seen that Syrians were coming to Egypt by ship throughout the Naqada II Period. If the Gebel el Arak knife handle actually does represent the final thrust of the Dynastic Race into Egypt, we can conclude that these may have been Syrians, following the long established trade route through the western arm of the Nile and on into Upper Egypt ²).

Such a theory would account for practically all the manifold problems that have been discussed in the previous pages. I believe it perfectly possible for all the Mesopotamian influence manifested in Egypt throughout the Naqada II Period and the First Dynasty to have arrived in Egypt through Syria. While a direct contact between Mesopotamia and Egypt cannot be defended, an indirect one certainly can. Syria was in direct contact with Mesopotamia *via* overland trade-routes which connected the two areas from at least as early as the Halaf Period ³). This connection continued through the succeeding Obeid, Warka and Jemdet Nasr Periods, the latter being an age of unusual expansion contemporary to the Naqada II Period. The sea-link between Syria and Egypt is well-established, so the northern land and sea routes from Mesopotamia to Egypt can be verified on the basis of existing evidence. No such evidence is forthcoming for the southern route through the Red Sea and the Wadi Hammamat.

1) Cf. Derry, *JEA* 42 (1956), 80 ff.

2) Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 3-4, suggests that this was the only branch of the Nile which could have been used by sea-trade at this early date. I am, however, skeptical of his theory of trading-cities in the West Delta.

3) Perkins, *Comp. Arch.*, pp. 43 ff.: for early Mesopotamian influence at Ras Shamra, cf. Schaeffer, *Syria* 38 (1961), 17 ff., 223 ff.

But this does not mean that Mesopotamian influence could not have come by land, through Palestine. There is no doubt that the land-route from Palestine was being used in Predynastic times, though some have expressed skepticism¹). However, since there are solid connections between Palestine itself and Egypt during the Naqada II Period (wavy-handled pottery, etc.) there is no reason to deny the existence of the land-route. The appearance in Palestine and Egypt of pottery types which are considered to be of Mesopotamian origin (loop-handled cups) is evidence of the possibility of a series of trade-routes connecting Mesopotamia with Egypt *via* Syria and Palestine. Therefore, there is no good reason why an indirect connection between Egypt and Mesopotamia could not have existed through this means.

To be continued

¹) Perrot, *IEJ* 5 (1955), 185 ff., discusses the origins of the Palestinian Beersheba Culture. While he finds some evidences here and at Safadi which might indicate connections with both Naqada I and II, he feels it is hard to establish any definite connections. "There are no insurmountable difficulties in relating Beersheba to one or the other of the Predynastic cultures of Egypt, but it is very difficult to establish a synchronism" (p. 186). Perrot feels that any Asiatic influence in Egypt, including that from Mesopotamia, came from the Syrian coast by sea.



BRILL

Relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom (Concluded)

Author(s): William A. Ward

Source: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Jul., 1964), pp. 121-135

Published by: Brill

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3596235>

Accessed: 03-05-2019 18:20 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Brill is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

BY

WILLIAM A. WARD

(Beirut)

Concluded ¹⁾

II. FROM THE PROTODYNASTIC PERIOD TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

I will begin with the only definite link I can find between Egypt and Mesopotamia for this entire period ²⁾. In a tomb “probably” of the First Intermediate Period at Helwan, a very distinctive type of metal axe was discovered. This is an “anchor axe”, of which only a few examples have been found in the Near East ³⁾. One example comes from Ur, probably of the Akkadian Period ⁴⁾, another was found at Byblos ⁵⁾ and still another from Syria of unknown provenance ⁶⁾.

1) See pp. 1-45.

2) I am ignoring here the appearance of Mesopotamian objects in the famous Tôd treasure, a collection of precious objects gathered from the Aegean, Syria and Mesopotamia and sent to the Egyptian court by a Syrian ruler. As such, it has no bearing on the relations of Egypt with Mesopotamia, except for what evidence it has to offer on chronological problems.

3) Saad, *Royal Excavations at Sakkara and Helwan. ASAE Suppl. No. 3* (Cairo, 1947), pp. 173-74, pl. 88. Vandier, *Manuel I*, p. 823, fig. 552, mistakenly places this object in the Protodynastic Period.

4) *Roy. Cem.*, p. 306, pl. 224, Type A 14; from Grave PG/691. Comparison of the pottery types found in PG/691 with the Dyala pottery gave a range of Early-Dynastic to Akkadian. While this can only be a tentative date, I do not feel this particular grave can be later than the Akkadian Period.

5) Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I* (Paris, 1937), p. 199, No. 3070, pl. 96.

6) Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II* (Paris, 1949), p. 64, fig. 28.7. This piece was also published in Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 10, pl. 74.171, though it is discussed as a variant of the scalloped axe type.

A fragment from Ugarit is also considered to be of this type; it dates ca 2100 to 1750 B.C. ¹⁾. Of the five known examples, only the fragment from Ugarit can be definitely placed in a datable archeological context, though this is still one that covers several centuries. If the example from Ur can be safely dated to the Akkadian Period (it cannot be later and may be earlier), this type could then be in evidence in Mesopotamia some time prior to its appearance at Ugarit. The specimen from Helwan is unfortunately undatable since the grave in which it was found is not described and no other contents of the grave are noted. The axe from Byblos cannot be dated any closer than within the general range of the other examples, and the axe of unknown provenance can of course be given no context at all.

On the origin of this type, only very general remarks have been made. Petrie, knowing only the Syrian axe of unknown provenance and a "simpler form" from Georgia, and wrongly discussing this shape as a variant of the common scalloped axe type, could offer no suggestion. Schaeffer is more explicit and suggests that this type represents "l'étape immédiatement préalable à celle de l'invention de la douille". He further feels that the type originated in Syria "où les armuriers de nos porteurs de torques l'ont ensuite franchie en créant la hache d'armes fenestrée à douille" ²⁾. This would mean that this type could not have come into existence prior to the appearance of Schaeffer's "torque-bearers", a new culture in Syria at the close of the third millennium B.C. whose major contribution was a new and improved armory of metal weapons and personal adornments. In a passing reference to this type of axe, Stronach ³⁾ notes that it probably originated in Mesopotamia and further suggests that a socketed axe type (that is, à douille) would be more likely to develop from a bent tang type than the anchor axe style.

There is thus hardly any specific information on which we can base any definite statements. For the present, we can at least conclude that

1) Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.8.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

3) Stronach, *Anat. St.* 7 (1957), 122.

this type of axe appears to be foreign to Egypt; I can see no connection whatsoever between the anchor axe and the scalloped axe. The oldest dated example is that from Ur, though this does not necessarily mean the type originated in Mesopotamia. On the basis of the known evidence, it is impossible to accept Schaeffer's opinion that this was one of the new weapons invented by the "torque-bearers", though I can venture no alternative origin for this type. It is unfortunate that the Helwan axe was published without its context, but, if it is truly from a grave of the First Intermediate Period, it is a most valuable document for foreign relations. I have suggested elsewhere that Egyptian connections with Asia may not have broken off as entirely as has been supposed during the First Intermediate Period¹). This axe may eventually prove to be a key document in re-studying the supposed isolation of Egypt from Asia at that time. For the present purpose, I can at least say that the axes from Helwan and Ur are indication of an indirect connection, obviously through Syria, between Egypt and Mesopotamia, probably toward the close of the third millennium B.C.

Another weapon which is apparently originally foreign to Egypt is the dagger which has a grip terminating in a large crescent. While such a feature may not really be specific enough to mean this type was borrowed, it is worth considering since it does make a rather sudden appearance in Egypt. While the type may have originated in Mesopotamia²), it is widely distributed in both time and area. It is found in Syria and extensively in the northern highlands above Syria and Mesopotamia in contexts ranging throughout the second millennium B.C.³). The type apparently was introduced into Egypt in the early Middle Kingdom; at least, extant examples are no earlier than this⁴). Whatever

1) Ward, *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 25-26.

2) Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 59, fig. 27; Stronach, *op. cit.*, p. 102. The oldest dated example is from the royal cemetery at Ur.

3) Schaeffer, *loc. cit.*, and *Stratigraphie comparée* (Oxford, 1948), *passim*; Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq* 8 (1946), 49-50.

4) Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pls. 33.4 and 34.42-43; Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 186; Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 105. Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, p. 95, rightly draws attention to this type, but cites examples from the second half of the second millennium as parallels to those of the third.

the origin of this type, however, it came to Egypt through Syria.

I have noted above that the Helwan anchor axe is the only clear evidence of Egypto-Mesopotamian connections for this entire period. But there are many other possibilities which have been suggested. A cylinder seal impression from Tepe Gawra VI has been studied by Speiser¹⁾ who concludes that "the contents bear a general resemblance to the mastabah offering scenes of the Old Kingdom". The human figures portrayed on this seal, as well as the overall contents of the scene, are foreign to the Sumero-Akkadian tradition. Speiser also notes that the human figures are paralleled by certain Cappadocian and Cypriote types. Such a comparison may be valid, though it would certainly be the result of an indirect connection through Syria. Egyptian art was well known at Byblos during the Old Kingdom and it is possible that Egyptian artistic influence could have made itself felt at Tepe Gawra. The fact that this seal also shows other characteristics is perfectly normal due to the mixture of artistic traditions which took place in Syria, particularly in glyptic art.

Woolley noted some "chipped flint arrowheads of the triangular chisel-pointed shape probably used for shooting small birds and game". These were found in only one grave at Ur and Woolley suggests they represent "one more example of Egyptian borrowing from Sumer" since the chisel-pointed arrowhead was commonly used in Egypt during the Protodynastic Period²⁾. But this can hardly be the case. Both Mesopotamia and Egypt seem to have developed this type of weapon independently. These arrowheads were also found near Ur in a deposit of the Obeid Period, giving the type a long history in Sumer³⁾. Their use in Egypt may begin even earlier. While Mrs. Baumgartel says the chisel-pointed arrowhead first appears in the Naqada II Period⁴⁾, they also appear in the Khartoum Mesolithic⁵⁾.

1) Speiser, *BASOR* 55 (1933), 2-3.

2) *Roy. Cem.*, pp. 381-82.

3) Woolley, *Ur Excavations IV, The Early Periods* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 14.

4) *Cultures I*, p. 39.

5) Arkell, *Early Khartoum*, pp. 43-44, and *Bib. Or.* 13 (1956), 124. Such arrowheads are portrayed in Predynastic times and the First Dynasty, for example, on the Lion-

From continuing excavations in the Sudan, it is now becoming increasingly evident that early Egypt owes a great deal more to the Upper Nile than heretofore suspected ¹).

A series of sculptures has been offered as evidence of a connection between Egyptian and Mesopotamian art. Helck has proposed that a lapis-lazuli figurine from Hierakonpolis, dating to the Protodynastic Period, is an import from Sumer ²). Contrary to Helck's view that the position of the arms, the hair-style, etc., are un-Egyptian, such features can be paralleled in Protodynastic art ³). The material was certainly brought to Egypt from Asia, but there is nothing in the style of this figurine which can be termed un-Egyptian.

A grotesque figure of a bearded man found at Gernayin, near Chagir Bazar, supposedly "bears a strange resemblance to a figurine discovered at Ballas" of Twelfth Dynasty date ⁴). Since the date of the former is ca. 2500 B.C., we can hardly allow a lapse of five centuries or so between the two figures and I cannot accept this as a valid connection.

Gilbert has proposed several comparisons between Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture which are based only on rather vague resemblances. A kneeling statue from Khafajah shows a rare pose which, according to Gilbert, was influenced by Egyptian sculpture ⁵). Frankfort, who studied this statue in detail, emphasizes that it is not kin to the other sculpture from Khafajah in style, workmanship or material. He concludes that it is foreign to Khafajah, probably from another Sumerian workshop ⁶). While this statue admittedly has little in common with the other Dyala statuary, the facial features do point to Mesopotamia

hunt Palette, the Stele of Queen Merneith, etc. Note especially the palette fragment of Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 23.

1) Arkell, *JEA* 39 (1953), 76 ff.

2) Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 28; Garstang, *ASAE* 8 (1908), 135, pl. 2.

3) Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 5; Vandier, *Manuel I*, p. 967; neither scholar hints at a foreign origin for this piece.

4) Mallowan, *Iraq* 4 (1942), 128, fig. 9.18; Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896), pls. 44-45.

5) Gilbert, *Cd'É* 52 (1951), 231.

6) Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah* (Chicago, 1939), p. 25, pl. 27.

as the place of origin. The kneeling position is not part of the Sumerian repertoire as it is now known, but this does not indicate Egyptian influence, particularly of the Protodynastic Period, figurines of which time Gilbert produces as comparative material. Certainly Frankfort, who was well acquainted with Egyptian art and was deeply interested in cultural borrowing, would have noted Egyptian influence had he thought this was a possibility.

A second supposed similarity pointed out by Gilbert is a statue in Cairo which shows folded hands in the typical Sumerian fashion and braids ending in tassels ornamenting the front of the kilt, also, according to Gilbert, suggestive of Asiatic influence ¹). But neither feature is unique; folded hands are not common in Egyptian statuary of the Old Kingdom but do appear elsewhere ²) and the tassled braids can also be paralleled ³).

Gilbert also discusses the Sumerian statue of Kur-lil from Al-Ubaid which shows the seated, cross-legged pose so characteristic of Egyptian statues of scribes ⁴). This pose is considered by him to be a good example of Egyptian influence on Sumerian art. Other Sumerian statues, however, show a similar pose; so this position is not foreign to the Sumerian tradition of sculpture ⁵).

A fourth similarity in sculpture put forward by Gilbert is the figure of Naramsin on his famous victory stela ⁶). Because this king is here portrayed in much larger size than the other figures with him, Gilbert suggests that this was influenced by the Egyptian practice of always

¹) Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32; Cairo 119, pictured in Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 68, pl. 21.6.

²) Vandier, *Manuel* I, fig. 661.

³) Vandier, *Manuel* III, pl. 35.1; Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art* (Brooklyn, 1956), pl. 2.

⁴) Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 233; the statue of Kur-lil is published by Hall, *JEA* 8 (1922), 250; Woolley, *Mesopotamia and the Middle East* (London, 1961), p. 69; Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* II, fig. 376; etc.

⁵) Besides the one example noted by Gilbert, cf. Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C.*, pl. 70, No. 97; Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Dyala Region* (Chicago, 1943), pl. 8, No. 216.

⁶) Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-34.

showing royal figures in grandiose size. The fallen enemies on this Akkadian stela are similarly related to sprawling enemies of Old Kingdom reliefs. Contrary to Gilbert's suggestion that picturing a king in much larger size than other figures in the same composition is a new feature of the Akkadian period, earlier examples are known from Sumer¹). And I can hardly see that the figures of the slain enemies, sprawled on the ground, even though similar in their contortions, can be considered Egyptian influence. Such motives are taken from the observation of everyday life.

Prior to making an overall judgement of this material, I should first note two other similarities proposed by Gilbert, used to support the theory of Egyptian Old Kingdom influence on the art of Mesopotamia. A metal fragment from Ur, perhaps the umbo of a shield, shows two lions arranged antithetically, trampling prostrate figures²). Gilbert suggests that the themes of (1) the pair of lions and (2) lions trampling enemies are Egyptian and are thus good evidence of Egyptian influence at Ur. But animals arranged in antithetical pairs are a motive in Mesopotamian art from its early beginnings and this theme is not at home in Egypt. And a lion trampling on prostrate figures is a symbol of royal power which, while it is known in Egypt, can well be invented elsewhere³).

Finally, Gilbert suggests that the stepped ziggurat of Mesopotamia

1) For example, the Victory Stela of Eannatum. Note also two stelae of the Old Akkadian Period published in Ghirshman, *Iran* (Penguin, 1954), figs. 21-22. These reliefs are in the region of Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, just east of the Iraq-Iran border on the main highway from Baghdad to Kermanshah. They belong to local chieftains of the Lulluti and are done in imitation of Old Akkadian style. Gilbert also mentions a relief of Naramsin in Istanbul of which he says "or cette composition est tout égyptienne".

2) Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 232, and *Cd'É* 23 (1937), 27-28; cf. *Roy. Cem.*, p. 69, pl. 169b.

3) In *Cd'É* 23 (1937), 28, Gilbert further proposes a connection between the large rosette below the lions and the rosette of Neith, suggesting a relation to the star of Ishtar. In reality, the rosette probably stood at the center of the original shield and, as such, is a natural device to combine strength and ornamentation. His proposed link with the rosette on the shoulders of lions on the throne of Ishtar (?) from Susa is invalid; this fits into a well known and documented theme studied by Miss Kantor, *JNES* 6 (1947), 250 ff.

was borrowed from Egyptian step pyramids of the Third Dynasty ¹). Such a connection is impossible. The Sumerian ziggurat was a native development beginning with a temple on a raised platform as early as the Warka Period ²). A two-stage platform is known from an excavated ziggurat of the Protoliterate Period ³) and a three-stage ziggurat is pictured on a cylinder seal of Uruk IV ⁴). It is therefore incorrect to place the origin of the stepped ziggurat in an age contemporary to the Egyptian Third Dynasty. The multiple-stepped structure was already in use in Mesopotamia by the Protoliterate Period, long before it appeared in Egypt.

Burton-Brown has suggested that several bead-types known from Nineveh level 4 are paralleled by Egyptian beads of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period ⁵). But, in using these "parallels", he is violating rather drastically the relative chronology of early Mesopotamia as established by Miss Perkins. After a careful examination of the pertinent material, Nineveh 4 is shown to be contemporary to the later Protoliterate Period, hence to the Naqada II age ⁶). There can thus be no question of a relationship here.

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that very little can be postulated as evidence of any kind of contact between Egypt and Mesopotamia. While a rather large number of connections have been suggested, it seems to me that the similarities, with few exceptions, are unacceptable. In reality, the only connections between Mesopotamia and Egypt from Protodynastic times to the close of the Middle Kingdom—contemporary to the Early Dynastic, Akkadian, Ur III and First

1) Gilbert, *Cd'É* 52 (1951), 228 ff.

2) The Anu Ziggurat (levels B-C), dating to the end of this period, shows the artificial platform for the temple, as do many other sites.

3) Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 6-7; Seton Lloyd and Safar, *JNES* 2 (1945), 136-49.

4) Parrot, *Ziggurats et tour de Babel* (Paris, 1949), p. 37, pl. IIa.

5) Burton-Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

6) Perkins, *Comp. Arch.*, Chap. 5. A comparison of Burton-Brown's other evidence for dating Niniveh 4 so late with Miss Perkins' study produces similar results. In fairness to Burton-Brown, his monograph appeared two years prior to Miss Perkins' work.

Dynasty of Babylon Periods—are the anchor axe from Helwan, the dagger with crescent-shaped pommel and the various Mesopotamian objects in the famous Tòd treasure of Amenemhat II. Outside of these objects, there is nothing else which can be considered of Mesopotamian origin in Egypt for this entire period. Prominent in the Tòd treasure are objects of lapis lazuli, a material which came from Afghanistan, including an Ur III cylinder made of this material. But such items do not indicate direct trade relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia. They rather were the result of trade between Egypt and Syria¹). Leemans' statement that there is "no indication that any Egyptian articles came to Babylonia by means of transit trade or that Babylonian articles went to Egypt"²) during the Old Babylonian Period is thus substantially correct.

A short but significant text has recently been published by Sollberger which adds to our knowledge of relations between Mesopotamia and the Syrian coast during the Ur III Period. This is one of the Drehem economic texts which lists, among other rulers, *ib-da-ti EN-SI KU-UB-LA*^{KI3}). Apart from being the earliest occurrence of Byblos in a cuneiform text, this short statement adds the name of one more Byblian ruler to those already known from other sources⁴). Sollberger's rather far-reaching conclusion that "la ville était intégrée à l'Empire, puisqu'elle était sous l'autorité d'un *ensi*"⁵) does not seem to be warranted by

1) The Tòd treasure is a mixture of objects from Crete, Syria, Cappadocia and Mesopotamia and must have been gathered by some Syrian ruler for Amenemhat II; cf. Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, pp. 138-39, and *JESHO* 3 (1960), 22; Helck, *Beziehungen* p. 73.

2) Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

3) Sollberger, *Afo* 19 (1959-60), 120-22.

4) Abi-Shemu I (contemporary to Amenemhat III), Yapa-shemu-abi (Amenemhat IV), Abi-Shemu II, Yakin-ilu and Yantin'-ammu (Thirteenth Dynasty). Since the bulk of the Drehem texts fall in the 25 years from Shulgi's 44th year to Ibbi-Sin's 2nd year and since the "low" chronology for the period now places the end of Ur III at ca. 1955 B.C., Ibdati of Byblos could be no later than the mid-twentieth century B.C. Depending on which chronology one follows, he would be a contemporary of the Egyptian Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty. Cf. Jones and Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty* (Minneapolis, 1961), p. 212; Albright, *BASOR* 127 (1952), 30, note 9.

5) Sollberger, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

this text. It would be most natural for the Sumerians to refer to the rulers of important foreign cities by a designation which had significance in a Sumerian cultural milieu. While there is thus no question of Byblos being part of an Ur III "Empire", we are at least assured by this text that Sumerian relations reached as far westward as the Syrian coast at this time.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The extended discussion of the issues involved has produced only a series of tentative conclusions. Mesopotamian influence in early Egypt is relatively slight, but the material now known shows that a definite connection between the two countries had been established by Naqada II times. At present, this influence seems to be only from Mesopotamia and not vice-versa; one possible exception to this is the scalloped axe-head which may be of Egyptian origin¹). There does not appear to be any sudden influx of Mesopotamian influence at any particular moment, though more influence is present in the second half of the Naqada II Period than in the first. From the first appearance of tilted spouts on jars to the use of niched panelled architecture, Mesopotamian elements in early Egyptian culture seem to have trickled in slowly over a considerable period of time.

There is no evidence of any direct connection between Mesopotamia and Egypt; the connections indicated by the available evidence must have been indirect. This indirect connection was through Syria-Palestine and not through the Wadi Hammamat. The Mesopotamian influence in

1) One more doubtful connection between Sumer and Egypt can be noted here. Amiet has discussed a Sumerian cylinder showing a building approached by a procession of three figures, the last two of which carry standards surmounted by symbols which appear to be unique in Mesopotamian glyptic. While these standards do have a faint resemblance to standards shown on such early Egyptian objects as the Narmer Palette, it is difficult to see a connection here. Amiet further suggests the possibility that the two symbols on these standards may represent Egyptian *mh* and *kj*, though from the Egyptologist's standpoint, these symbols do not conform to the early paleography of these signs. I therefore consider this a very doubtful connection. Cf. Amiet, *RA* (1957), 128-29.

Egypt was primarily the result of sea-trade between Egypt and the Syrian coast, though it could also have been introduced *via* the land-route from Palestine. The type of object imported into Egypt, or copied from Mesopotamian originals, could easily have been transported by trade. Similarly, the Mesopotamian artistic influence seen in Egypt could well have resulted from Syrian or Palestinian relations. Nothing forces us to presume any kind of direct connection with Mesopotamia throughout the Naqada II Period.

The long-standing trade relations between Syria and Egypt eventually brought an armed invasion through the Delta. This was the Dynastic Race, probably Syrians, who imposed their rule over Egypt as the ruling class of the First Dynasty. Since niche panelled architecture appears at approximately the same time and is foreign to Egypt, it is reasonable to suppose that this new style was introduced by the Dynastic Race. I cannot ascribe to them the introduction of writing into the Nile Valley, but they may have been in large part responsible for the Egypto-Semitic character of the Egyptian language as we know it from the inscriptions. The appearance of Mesopotamian objects and influence in Egypt would, I think, be one facet, almost accidental, of the thriving trade between Egypt and Syria-Palestine. This would explain why Mesopotamian influence in Egypt is sporadic and, compared to the Egypto-Syrian connection, relatively unimportant.

The indirect Egyptian connections with Mesopotamia which had increased during the Naqada II Period decline rather sharply after the advent of the historic age. The only new feature in Egypt which can be given an undoubted Mesopotamian origin is niched panelled architecture. Artistic motives, originally from Mesopotamia, which appeared in the Predynastic Period persist, but the cylinder seal has lost its foreign appearance by the substitution of purely Egyptian designs. One pottery type—"cut-ware" braziers—may be related to similar Egyptian vessels ¹⁾. With the end of the First Dynasty, Mesopotamian influence in Egypt remains only in the form of the niched panelled architecture,

1) Kantor, in *Rel. Chron.*, pp. 7-8. I have found nothing to alter this statement

already undergoing drastic changes in its Egyptian setting. It can be no mere coincidence that there was also a sharp decline in Egyptian relations with Syria-Palestine at the close of the First Dynasty.

Egypt had been brought into the orbit of west Asiatic trade by the initiative of Asiatics who came to Egypt during the Predynastic Period ¹). Due to internal political struggles during the Second Dynasty, this trade was broken off. When relations with Asia were again established, at the end of the Second Dynasty, a strong centralized monarchy assumed control of this trade. Egyptian interests from this time to the close of the Middle Kingdom were restricted to Syria-Palestine, the connections with the Aegean world and other areas in Asia being through Byblos.

It is possible that we can tie together the appearance of the Dynastic Race, the political struggles of the Second Dynasty and the situation revealed by the available evidence on trade relations between Egypt and Asia. That all the great First Dynasty tombs, both at Abydos and Sakkara, show signs of willful destruction by fire may have special significance. Whether this suggests a revolt against the Dynastic Race remains only an attractive theory, but this would provide a tentative answer to many unanswered questions.

These people of the Dynastic Race would have maintained ties with their homeland, ties already established by trade in the Predynastic age. With a challenge to their power and their ultimate overthrow at the

with the exception of one item which may or may not be acceptable. A design found on several ivory fragments of the First Dynasty consists of crossed lines forming concentric squares or losenges with circles or dots placed in the open spaces (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pls. 40 and 41; Emery, *Great Tombs* II, pl. 27.102; etc.). This design which is capable of many variations is found in Mesopotamia from the Jemdet Nasr Period onward and in Syria-Palestine with a similar chronological range (Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pl. 9, Nos. 50-51; *Roy. Cem.*, pl. 202.128; Mackay, "A" Cemetery at Kish, pl. 41.2; Von der Osten, *Sammlung Von Aulock*, p. 36, No. 125; Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* I, fig. 254.3; etc.). The Asiatic examples are all from cylinder seals and the Egyptian examples are narrow ivory strips for decoration. It is possible that the design was copied in Egypt from seal impressions giving a continuous narrow band pattern.

1) Ward, *JESHO* 6 (1963), 44-45, 52-53.

close of the First Dynasty, the combination of the political disturbances in Egypt during the Second Dynasty and the native nationalism would sever the long-standing relations with Asia. Since it was these Asiatics themselves who had maintained the ties with Asia, these ties would be broken once they had lost power in Egypt. With the establishing of the native dynasties in Egypt, foreign relations were resumed, this time under Egyptian, not Asiatic, initiative.

We can thus explain why Egypt and Mesopotamia lost even this indirect contact with each other. The Mesopotamian connection was through Syrians and came to Egypt *via* the long tradition of Syro-Mesopotamian connections and through Syrian initiative. Once this bond was broken, Mesopotamian influence ceased to enter Egypt. When Egyptian rulers of the Old Kingdom assumed control of Egypt's foreign connections, their interest lay solely in Syria-Palestine. Apart from sporadic, indirect contacts, Egypt and Mesopotamia remained separate until the mid-second millennium B.C. Even an indirect contact was only barely maintained. This may seem strange in the light of such historical events as the westward expansion of the Akkadian Dynasty, but, in view of present evidence, this appears to be the case.

One of the major theses of this study has been that the connections between Mesopotamia and Egypt from the beginning of the Naqada II Period to the close of the Middle Kingdom were indirect and, with a single exception, of relatively little importance. While such things as cylinder seals and artistic motives made a distinct cultural contribution to a particular period, these were momentary phases which had no lasting effect and produced no significant changes in the native pattern of culture. The one exception, of course, is niched panelled architecture which, though it lost its original use as an architectural form, was preserved for the rest of Egyptian history in the *serekh* and the false door found in most Egyptian tombs.

The effect of Mesopotamian civilization on the Nile Valley prior to the Egyptian Empire has been magnified out of all proportions to its actual importance. Taken as a whole, the sum total of Sumero-Akkadian influence in Egypt throughout the period covered in this article is

rather negligible. The oft-repeated statement that Egypt advanced from prehistoric culture to historic civilization as a result of Mesopotamian impetus must, I think, be abandoned ¹). The impetus came from lands farther west than the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. It is perhaps because we can ascribe a Mesopotamian origin to the most startling and sudden development—massive monuments with niched facades—that Mesopotamia appears to be the motivating force behind the seemingly abrupt appearance of the historic age in Egypt.

Of the eight characteristic elements of civilization as listed by Braidwood, most were already present in Egypt during the Predynastic Period ²). Consequently, historic civilization in Egypt owes much more than is sometimes conceded to its own native intelligence. The foreign elements found in Egypt may have contributed to the overall progress, but were not primarily responsible for this progress. Even in antiquity, no nation could stand completely isolated from its neighbors and we should expect to find in any area evidence of contact with other areas. I see no evidence, however, that Egypt remained in prehistoric infancy until a supposed wave of Mesopotamian influence showed the Egyptians how to take the first steps of historic adulthood.

APPENDIX

THE PIRIFORM MACE-HEAD IN WESTERN ASIA

<i>Site</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
IRAN		
Bakun	Obeid Period	McCown and Langsdorff, <i>Tell-i-Bakun A</i> (Chicago, 1942), pl. 84.26.
Sialk III	Obeid Period	Ghirshman, <i>Fouilles de Sialk I</i> (Paris, 1938), pl. 85. S 143.
IRAQ		
Brak	Protoliterate	Mallowan, <i>Iraq</i> 9 (1947), 96, pls. 6.1-2, 52.15.

¹) Scharff, *Die Frühkulturen Ägyptens und Mesopotamiens*, pp. 33-36, reaches substantially the same conclusions.

²) Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization* (Eugene, Oregon, 1952), p. 2.

Jemdet Nasr	Protoliterate	Mackay, <i>Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq</i> , p. 268, pl. 70.9.
Kish	Early Dynastic	Mackay, " <i>A Cemetery at Kish</i> ", p. 126.
Dyala Sites	Early Dynastic	Several specimens in Oriental Institute Museum, Univ. of Chicago; not specified in published volumes.
Telloh		Genouillac, <i>Fouilles de Telloh I</i> (Paris 1934), pls. 7.2b 8.1b; stratification uncertain, Warka or Protoliterate.
Tepe Gawra	Obeid Period Warka Period Early Dynastic	Speiser, <i>Excavations at Tepe Gawra I</i> (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 86-87, pl. 42.2; Tobler, <i>Excavations at Tepe Gawra II</i> , pp. 203-04.
'Ubaid	Warka	Hall et al., <i>Ur Excavations I, 'Al-'Ubaid</i> (Oxford, 1927), p. 51; Perkins, <i>Comp. Arch.</i> , p. 148.
Warka	Warka	Perkins, <i>Comp. Arch.</i> , p. 148.

SYRIA-PALESTINE

Abu Matar	Chalcolithic	Perrot, <i>IEJ</i> 5 (1955), pl. 15A; <i>Syria</i> 34 (1957), pl. 1.3.
Amouq Plain	Chalcolithic	Braidwood, <i>Plain of Antioch I</i> , pp. 323-24, fig. 250;
	Early Bronze	p. 383, fig. 295; p. 482, fig. 377.3.
Ai	EB II	Marquet-Krause, <i>Les fouilles de 'Ay</i> (Paris, 1949), pl. 38.104.
Beit Mersim	MB II	Albright, <i>AASOR</i> 17 (1938), p. 56, pl. 41.4.
Byblos		Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos I</i> , p. 438, fig. 319.
Fara	Chalcolithic	MacDonald, <i>Beth Pelet II</i> (London, 1932), p. 15, pls. 23.26, 27.81, 28.7. (On the date, cf. Tufnell, <i>Lachish IV</i> , p. 40).
Ghassul	Chalcolithic	Mallon, et al, <i>Teleilat Ghassul I</i> (Rome, 1934), p. 71, pl. 35.3 and 7.
Jericho	Early Bronze	Sellin and Watzinger, <i>Jericho</i> (Leipzig, 1913), p. 120; Garstang, <i>The Story of Jericho</i> (London, 1940), p. 79; Kenyon, <i>Jericho I</i> , p. 171, fig. 66.4.
Lachish	Chalcolithic to MB III	Tufnell, et al, <i>Lachish IV</i> (Oxford, 1958), pp. 71-72, pl. 26.1-5.
Megiddo	Chalcolithic to Early Iron.	Loud, <i>Megiddo II</i> (Chicago, 1948), pl. 270.